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A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND PUBLISHED,

IN TEN VOLUMES,

BY THE ABBÉ RAYNAL.

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

BY J. O. JUSTAMOND, F.R.S.

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BOOK XVIII.

English Colonies founded in Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. General Reflections on all theſe Settlements.

BOOK XVIII.

Parallel between a bad and a good government.

NO ſociety was ever founded on injuſtice. A people formed by a compact ſo extraordinary, would have been, at the ſame time, both the moſt degraded and the moſt unfortunate of people. Declared enemies of the human race, they would equally have been entitled to compaſſion from the ſentiments they would have inſpired, and thoſe they would have experienced. Feared and hated by all ſurrounding powers, they would have inceſſantly been agitated by the ſame paſſions. Their misfortunes would have excited univerſal joy, and their proſperity general affliction. The nations would one day have united to exterminate them; but time would have rendered this league uſeleſs. It would have been ſufficient for their annihilation, and for the avenging of other nations, that each

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of their members ſhould have modelled its conduct upon the maxims of the ſtate. Animated with the ſpirit of their inſtitution, they would all have been eager to raiſe themſelves upon the ruin of each other. No meaſure would have appeared too odious for this purpoſe. This would have been realizing the fable of the race engendered from the teeth of the dragon, which Cadmus ſowed upon the earth, and which was deſtroyed as ſoon as created.

How different would be the deſtiny of an empire founded on virtue! Agriculture, the arts, the ſciences, and commerce, improved under the protection of peace, would have expelled idleneſs, ignorance, and misery. The chief of the ſtate would have received the different ranks of men in the ſtate, and would have been adored. He would have underſtood that not one of the ſociety could ſuffer, without ſome injury to the whole body, and therefore he would have attended to the happineſs of all. Impartial equity would enſure the obſervation of the treaties which it had dictated, the ſtability of laws, which it had ſimplified, and the diſtribution of taxes, which it would have proportioned to the public expences. All the neighbouring powers, intereſted in the preſervation of this people, would arm in their defence, upon the leaſt danger which ſhould threaten them. But in default of foreign ſuccours, they might themſelves oppoſe, to the unjuſt aggreſſor, the impenetrable barrier of a rich and numerous people, for whom the word Country would not merely be a nominal idea. This is what may be called imaginary excellence in politics.

Theſe two ſorts of government are equally unknown in the annals of the world; which preſent us with nothing but imperfect ſketches, more or leſs reſembling the atrocious ſublimity, or more or leſs diſtant from the affecting beauty, of one or the other of theſe great portraits. The nations which have made the moſt ſplendid figure on the theatre of the world, actuated by deſtructive ambition, have diſplayed a greater reſemblance to the former. Others, more wiſe in their

conſtitution, more ſimple in their manners, more limited in their views, and enveloped, if we may uſe the expreſſion, with a kind of ſecret happineſs, ſeemed to be more conformable to the ſecond. Among the latter Pennſylvania may be reckoned.

Lutheraniſm, which was deſtined to cauſe a remarkable change in Europe, either by its own influence, or by the example it gave, had occaſioned a great ferment in the minds of all men, when there aroſe, in the midſt of the commotions it excited, a new religion, which at firſt appeared much more like a rebellion guided by fanaticiſm, than like a ſect that was governed by any fixed principle. The generality of innovators in religion follow a regular ſyſtem, compoſed of doctrines connected with each other, and contend at firſt only to defend them, till perſecution irritates and ſtimulates them to rebellion, ſo that at length they have recourſe to arms. The Anabaptiſts, on the contrary, as if they had only looked into the Bible for the word of command to attack, lifted up the ſtandard of rebellion, before they had agreed upon a ſyſtem of doctrine. It is true, indeed, their leaders had taught, that it was a ridiculous and uſeleſs practice to adminiſter baptiſm to infants, and aſſerted that their opinion upon this point was the ſame as that of the primitive church; but they had not yet ever reduced to practice this article of belief, which was the only one that furniſhed a pretence for their ſeparation. The ſpirit of ſedition prevented them from paying a proper attention to the ſchiſmatic tenets on which their diviſion was founded. To ſhake off the tyrannical yoke of church and ſtate, was their law and their faith. To enliſt in the armies of the Lord, to join with the faithful, who were to wield the ſword of Gideon, this was their device, their motive, and their ſignal for rallying.

The Quakers found Pennſylvania. Manners of that ſect.

It was not till after they had carried fire and ſword into a great part of Germany, that the Anabaptiſts thought of giving ſome baſis and ſome connection to their creed, and of marking and cementing their confederacy by ſome viſible ſign of union. Having been

BOOK XVIII. united at first by inspiration to raise a body of troops, in 1525 they were united to compose a religious code.

In this mixed system of intoleration and mildness, the Anabaptist church, being the only one in which the pure word of God is taught, neither can nor ought to communicate with any other.

The spirit of the Lord blowing whereſoever it liſteth, the power of preaching is not limited to one order of the faithful, but is diſpenſed to all. Every one likewiſe has the gift of prophecy.

Every ſect which hath not preſerved a community of all things which conſtituted the life and ſtate of primitive Chriſtianity, has degenerated, and is for that reaſon an impure ſociety.

Magiſtrates are uſeleſs in a ſociety of the truly faithful. A Chriſtian never has occaſion for any; nor is a Chriſtian allowed to be one himſelf.

Chriſtians are not permitted to take up arms even in their own defence, much leſs is it lawful for them to enliſt as ſoldiers in mercenary armies.

Both law-ſuits and oaths are forbidden the diſciples of Chriſt, who has commanded them to let their yea, be yea, and their nay, nay.

The baptiſm of infants is an invention of the devil and the pope. The validity of baptiſm depends upon the voluntary conſent of adults, who alone are able to receive it with a conſciouſneſs of the engagement they take upon themſelves.

Such was in its origin the religious ſyſtem of the Anabaptiſts. Though it appears founded on charity and mildneſs, yet it produced nothing but violence and iniquity. The chimerical idea of an equality of ſtations, is the moſt dangerous one that can be adopted in a civilized ſociety. To preach this ſyſtem to the people, is not to put them in mind of their rights, it is leading them on to aſſaſſination and plunder; it is letting domeſtic animals looſe, and transforming them into wild beaſts. The rulers of the people muſt be more enlightened, or the laws by which they are governed muſt be ſoftened; but there is in fact no ſuch

thing in nature as a real equality; it exiſts only in the ſyſtem of equity. Even the ſavages themſelves are not equal when once they are collected into hordes. They are only ſo while they wander in the woods; and even then the man who ſuffers the produce of his chaſe to be taken from him, is not the equal of him who deprives him of it. Such has been the origin of all ſocieties.

A doctrine, the baſis of which was the community of goods and equality of ranks, was hardly calculated to find partizans any where but among the poor. The peaſants therefore adopted it with the greater enthuſiaſm, in proportion as the yoke from which it delivered them was more inſupportable. The far greater part, eſpecially thoſe who were condemned to ſlavery, roſe up in arms on all ſides, to ſupport a doctrine, which, from being vaſſals, made them equal to their lords. The apprehenſion of ſeeing one of the firſt bands of ſociety, obedience to the magiſtrate, broken, united all other ſects againſt them, who could not ſubſiſt without ſubordination. After having carried on a more obſtinate reſiſtance than could have been expected, they yielded at length to the number of their enemies. Their ſect, notwithſtanding it had made its way all over Germany, and into a part of the North, was nowhere prevalent, becauſe it had been every where oppoſed and diſperſed. It was but juſt tolerated in thoſe countries, in which the greateſt latitude of opinion was allowed; and there was not any ſtate in which it was able to ſettle a church, authoriſed by the civil power. This of courſe weakened it, and from obſcurity it fell into contempt. Its only glory is that of having, perhaps, contributed to the foundation of the ſect of Quakers.

Origin and character of the Quakers.

This humane and peaceable ſect aroſe in England, amidſt the confuſions of that bloody war, which terminated in a monarch's being dragged to the ſcaffold by his own ſubjects. The founder of it, George Fox, was of the lower claſs of the people; a man who had been formerly a mechanic, but whom a ſingular and

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contemplative turn of mind had induced to quit his employment. In order to wean himself entirely from all earthly affections, he broke off all connections with his own family; and for fear of being tempted to renew them, he determined to have no fixed abode. He often wandered alone in the woods, without any other amusement but his Bible. In time he even learned to go without that, when he thought he had acquired from it a degree of inspiration similar to that of the apostles and the prophets.

He then began to think of making proselytes, in which he found no difficulty in a country where the minds of all men were filled and disturbed with enthusiastic notions. He was, therefore, soon followed by a multitude of disciples, the novelty and singularity of whose opinions, upon incomprehensible subjects, could not fail of attracting and fascinating all those who were fond of the marvellous.

The first thing by which they caught the eye, was the simplicity of their dress, in which there was no gold or silver lace, no embroidery, laces, or ruffles, and from which they affected to banish every thing that was superfluous or unnecessary. They would not suffer either a button in the hat or a plait in the coat, because it was possible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for established modes reminded those who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous than the rest of men, from whom they distinguished themselves by this external modesty.

All outward marks of deference, which the pride and tyranny of mankind exact from those who are unable to refuse them, were disdained by the Quakers, who disclaimed the names of master and servant. They condemned all titles, as being tokens of pride in those who claimed them, and of meanness in those who bestowed them. They did not allow to any person whatever the appellation of eminence or excellence, and so far they might be in the right; but they refused to comply with those reciprocal demonstrations of respect which we call politeness, and in

his they were to blame. The name of friend, they aid, was not to be refuſed by one Chriſtian or citi- en to another, but the ceremony of bowing they dered as ridiculous and troubleſome. To pull he hat they held to be a want of reſpect to a 's ſelf, in order to ſhow it to others. They car- this idea ſo far, that even the magiſtrates could compel them to any external mark of reverence; they addreſſed both them and princes according e ancient majeſty of language, in the ſecond per- in the ſingular number; and they juſtified e by the cuſtom of thoſe very perſons who ed at it, and who uſed to addreſs their ſaints and God in the ſame manner.

The auſterity of their morals ennobled the ſingularity of their manners. The uſe of arms, conſidered in every light, appeared a crime to them. If it were to attack, it was violating the laws of humanity; if to defend one's ſelf, it was breaking through thoſe of Chriſtianity. Univerſal peace was the goſpel they had agreed to profeſs. If any one ſmote a Quaker upon one cheek, he immediately preſented the other; if any one aſked him for his coat, he offered his waiſtcoat too. Nothing could engage theſe equitable men to demand more than the lawful price for their work, or to take leſs than what they demanded. An oath, even before a magiſtrate, and in ſupport of a juſt cauſe, they deemed to be a profanation of the name of God, in any of the wretched diſputes that ariſe between weak and periſhable beings.

The contempt they entertained for the outward forms of politeneſs in civil life, was changed into averſion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of religion. They looked upon churches merely as the oſtentatious edifices of prieſtcraft; they conſidered the Sabbath as a pernicious and idle inſtitution, and baptiſm and the Lord's Supper as ridiculous ſymbols. For this reaſon they rejected all regular orders of clergy. Every one of the faithful they imagined received an immediate illumination from the Holy Ghoſt, which gave a cha-

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racter far ſuperior to that of the prieſthood. When they were aſſembled together, the firſt perſon who found himſelf inſpired, aroſe, and imparted the light he had received from heaven. Even women were often favoured with this gift of ſpeech, which was called the gift of prophecy; ſometimes many of the holy brethren ſpoke at the ſame time; but much more frequently a profound ſilence prevailed in their aſſemblies.

The enthuſiaſm occaſioned both by their meditations and diſcourſes, excited ſuch a degree of ſenſibility in the nervous ſyſtem, that it threw them into convulſions, for which reaſon they were called Quakers. To have cured theſe people in preference of their folly, nothing more was requiſite than to turn it into ridicule; but inſtead of this, perſecution contributed to make it more general. While every other new ſect met with encouragement, this was expoſed to every kind of puniſhment; impriſonments, whippings, pillories, mad-houſes, were none of them thought too terrible for bigots, whoſe only crime was that of wanting to be virtuous and reaſonable over much. The conſtancy with which they bore their ſufferings, at firſt excited compaſſion, and afterwards admiration for them. Even Cromwell, who had been one of their moſt violent enemies, becauſe they uſed to inſinuate themſelves into his camps, and diſſuade his ſoldiers from their profeſſion, gave them public marks of his eſteem. His policy exerted itſelf in endeavouring to draw them into his party, in order to conciliate to himſelf a higher degree of reſpect and conſideration; but they either eluded his invitations, or rejected them; and he afterwards confeſſed, that this was the only religion which was not to be influenced by bribery.

Foundation of Pennſylvania by Penn. Principles of his legiſlation.

Among the ſeveral perſons who caſt a temporary luſtre on the ſect, the only one who deſerves to be remembered by poſterity, is William Penn. He was the ſon of an admiral, who had been fortunate enough to be equally diſtinguiſhed by Cromwell, and the two Stuarts, who held the reins of government

fter him. This able ſeaman, more ſupple and more inſinuating than men of his profeſſion uſually are, had made ſeveral conſiderable advances to government in different expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not admitted the repayment of theſe loans during his life, and his affairs were not in a better ſituation at his death, that was propoſed to his ſon, that inſtead of money, he ſhould accept of an immenſe territory in America. It was a country, which, though long ſince diſcovered and ſurrounded by Engliſh colonies, had always been deſert. A ſpirit of benevolence made him accept more this kind of patrimony, which was ceded him almoſt as a ſovereignty, and he determined to make it the abode of virtue, and the aſylum of the unfortunate. With this generous deſign, towards the end of the year 1681, he ſet ſail for his new poſſeſſions, which from that time took the name of Pennſylvania. All the Quakers were deſirous to follow him, in order to avoid the perſecution raiſed againſt them by the clergy, on account of their not complying with the tithes and other eccleſiaſtical fees; but from prudential motives he declined taking over any more than two thouſand.

His arrival in the New World was ſignalized by an act of equity, which made his perſon and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly ſatisfied with the right given him to his extenſive territory, by the grant he had received of it from the Britiſh miniſtry, he determined to make it his own property by purchaſing it of the natives. The price he gave to the ſavages is not known; but though ſome people accuſe them of ſtupidity for conſenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not leſs entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and juſtice in America, which was never thought of before by the Europeans. He rendered himſelf as much as poſſible a legal poſſeſſor of the territory, and by the uſe he made of

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it ſupplied any deficiency there might be in the validity of his title. The Americans entertained as great an affection for his colony, as they had conceived averſion for all thoſe which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their conſent. From the firſt time there aroſe a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to ſhake.

Penn's humanity could not be confined to the ſavages only; it extended itſelf to all thoſe who were deſirous of living under his laws. Senſible that the happineſs of the people depended upon the nature of the legiſlation, he founded his upon the two great principles of public ſplendour and private felicity, liberty and property. If it were allowed to borrow the language of fable, with reſpect to ſo true an account that ſeems to be fabulous, we ſhould ſay, that Aſtræa, who had been gone up into heaven for ſo long a time, was now come down upon earth again, and that the reign of innocence and concord was going to be revived among mankind. The mind of the writer and of his reader dwells with pleaſure on this part of modern hiſtory, and feels ſome kind of compenſation for the diſguſt, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European ſettlements in America, inſpires. Hitherto we have only ſeen theſe barbarians depopulating the country before they took poſſeſſion of it, and laying every thing waſte before they cultivated it. It is time to obſerve the dawnings of reaſon, happineſs, and humanity, riſing from among the ruins of a hemiſphere, which ſtill reeks with the blood of all its people, civilized as well as ſavage.

The virtuous legiſlator made toleration the baſis of his ſociety. He admitted every man who acknowledged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every Chriſtian eligible to ſtate employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the Supreme Being as he thought proper, and neither eſtabliſhed a reign-

ing church in Pennſylvania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worſhip, nor compelled perſons to attend them.

[illegible], attached to his name, was deſirous that the liberty of the ſettlement which he had formed ſhould remain in perpetuity to his family; but he deprived them of any deciſive influence in the public reſolutions, and ordained, that they ſhould not exerciſe any legiſlative authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens who had an income by the law, by having one in the object of it, were electors, and might be choſen. To avoid as far as poſſible every kind of corruption, it was ordained that the repreſentatives ſhould be choſen by ſuffrages privately given. To eſtabliſh a law, a plurality of voices was ſufficient; but a majority of two-thirds was neceſſary to ſettle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift than a ſubſidy demanded by government; but was it poſſible to grant leſs indulgences to men who were come ſo far in ſearch of peace?

Such was the opinion of that real philoſopher Penn. He gave a thouſand acres to all thoſe who could afford to pay 450 livres [18l. 15s.] for them. Every one who could not, obtained for himſelf, his wife, each of his children above ſixteen years old, and each of his ſervants, fifty acres of land, for the annual quit-rent of one ſol ten deniers and a half [about one penny.] per acre. Fifty acres were alſo given to every citizen who, when he was of age, conſented to pay an annual tribute of two livres five ſols [1s. 10½d.].

To fix theſe properties for ever, he eſtabliſhed tribunals to maintain the laws made for the preſervation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands to make thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of them purchaſe the decree of juſtice that ſecures them: for in that caſe every individual is obliged to part with ſome of his property, in order to ſecure the reſt; and law, when protracted, exhauſts the very treaſures it ſhould preſerve and the property it ſhould defend.

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Leſt any perſons ſhould be found whoſe intereſt it might be to encourage or prolong law-ſuits, he forbade, under very ſtrict penalties, all thoſe who were engaged in the adminiſtration of juſtice to receive ſalary or gratuity whatſoever. And further, each diſtrict was obliged to chooſe three arbitrators, whose buſineſs it was to endeavour to prevent, and accommodate, any diſputes that might happen, before they were carried into a court of juſtice.

This attention to prevent law-ſuits ſprang from a deſire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that might have no vices to puniſh, were calculated to put a ſtop to them even in their very ſource, in pride and idleneſs. It was enacted that every child above twelve years old, ſhould be obliged to learn a profeſſion, let his condition be what it would. This regulation, at the ſame time that it ſecured the poor man a ſubſiſtence, furniſhed the rich man with a reſource againſt every reverſe of fortune, preſerved the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original deſtination, which is that of labour, either of the mind or of the body.

Virtue had never perhaps inſpired a legiſlation better calculated to promote the felicity of mankind. The opinions, the ſentiments, and the morals corrected whatever might be defective in it, and remedied any part of it that might be imperfect. Accordingly, the proſperity of Pennſylvania was very rapid. This republic, without either wars, conqueſts, ſtruggles, or any of thoſe revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, ſoon excited the admiration of the whole univerſe. Its neighbours, notwithſtanding their ſavage ſtate, were ſoftened by the ſweetneſs of its manners; and diſtant nations, notwithſtanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to ſee thoſe heroic days of antiquity realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to conſider as entirely fabulous.

Proſperity of Pennſylvania.

Pennſylvania is defended on the eaſt by the ocean, on the north by New York and New Jerſey, on the

South by Virginia and Maryland, on the west by the Indians, on all sides by friends, and within itself by the virtue of its inhabitants. Its coasts, which are at very narrow, extend gradually to 120 miles, and breadth of it, which has no other limits than its ulation and culture, already comprehends 145 miles. ennsylvania Proper is divided into eleven counties; adelphia, Bucks, Chester, Lancaster, York, Cumnd, Berks, Northampton, Bedford, Northumberand Westmoreland.

same region, the counties of Newcastle, Kent; form a distinct government, but are regusame principles.

The sky of the colony is pure and serene, and the climate, naturally very wholesome, has been rendered still more so by cultivation; the waters, equally salubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock or sand; and the year is tempered by the regular return of the seasons. Winter, which begins in the month of January, lasts till the end of March. As it is seldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is, generally speaking, moderate; sometimes, however, sharp enough to freeze the largest rivers in a night's time. This change, which is as short as it is sudden, is occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The spring is ushered in by soft rains, and a gentle heat, which increases gradually till the end of June. The heats of the dog-days would be insupportable, were it not for the refreshing breezes of the south-west wind, which afford almost a constant relief.

Though the country be unequal, it is not on that account less fertile. The soil in some places consists of a yellow and black sand, in others it is gravelly, and sometimes it is a greyish ash-colour upon a stony bottom; generally speaking, it is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which, intersecting it in all directions, contribute more to the fertility of the country than navigable rivers would.

BOOK XVIII. When the Europeans firſt came into the country, they found nothing but wood for building, and iron mines. In proceſs of time, by cutting down the trees and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, a great variety of fruits, plantain, flax and hemp, many kinds of vegetables, every ſort of grain, and eſpecially wheat and maize, which a happy experience had ſhown to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on in all parts with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs as excited the aſtoniſhment of all nations.

From whence could ariſe this extraordinary proſperity? From that civil and religious liberty which attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly ſome laborious Germans, into that country. It has been the joint work of Quakers, Anabaptiſts, members of the Church of England, Methodiſts, Preſbyterians, Moravians, Lutherans, and Catholics.

Among the numerous ſects which abound in this country, a very diſtinguiſhed one is that of the Dumplers. It was founded by a German, who, weary of the world, retired to an agreeable ſolitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to be more at liberty to give himſelf up to contemplation. Curioſity brought ſeveral of his countrymen to viſit his retreat; and by degrees his pious, ſimple, and peaceable manners induced them to ſettle near him; and they all formed a little colony, which they called Euphrates, in alluſion to the Hebrews, who uſed to ſing pſalms on the borders of that river.

This little city forms a triangle, the outſides of which are bordered with mulberry and apple-trees, planted with regularity. In the middle of the town is a very large orchard; and between the orchard and theſe ranges of trees are houſes, built of wood, three ſtories high, where every Dumpler is left to enjoy the pleaſures of his meditations without diſturbance. Theſe contemplative men do not amount to above five hundred in all; their territory is about 250 acres in ex-

tent, the boundaries of which are marked by a river, a piece of ſtagnated water, and a mountain covered with trees. BOOK XVIII.

The men and women live in ſeparate quarters of the ... They never ſee each other but at places of wor... nor are there any aſſemblies of any kind but for ...lic buſineſs. Their life is ſpent in labour, prayer, ...ſleep. Twice every day and night they are called ...n from their cells to attend divine ſervice. Like ...Methodiſts and Quakers, every individual among ...has the right of preaching when he thinks him... ...red. The favourite ſubjects on which they ... their aſſemblies, are humility, temperance, ...d the other Chriſtian virtues. They never violate that day of repoſe, which all orders of men, whether idle or laborious, much delight in. They admit a hell and a paradiſe, but reject the eternity of future puniſhments. They abhor the doctrine of original ſin as an impious blaſphemy, and in general every tenet that is ſevere to man appears to them injurious to the divinity. As they do not allow merit to any but voluntary works, they only adminiſter baptiſm to the adult. At the ſame time they think baptiſm ſo eſſentially neceſſary to ſalvation, that they imagine the ſouls of Chriſtians in another world are employed in converting thoſe who have not died under the law of the goſpel.

Still more diſintereſted than the Quakers, they never allow themſelves any law-ſuits. One may cheat, rob, and abuſe them, without ever being expoſed to any retaliation, or even any complaint from them. Religion has the ſame effect on them that philoſophy had upon the Stoics; it makes them inſenſible to every kind of inſult.

Nothing can be plainer than their dreſs. In winter, it is a long white gown, from whence there hangs a hood, which ſerves inſtead of a hat, a coarſe ſhirt, thick ſhoes, and very wide breeches. The only difference in ſummer is, that linen is uſed inſtead of wool-

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len. The women are dreſſed much like the men, except that they have no breeches.

Their common food conſiſts wholly of vegetables, not becauſe it is unlawful to eat any other, but becauſe that kind of abſtinence is looked upon as conformable to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity, which has averſion for blood.

Each individual follows with cheerfulneſs the branch of buſineſs allotted to him. The produce of all their labours is depoſited in a common ſtock, in order to ſupply the neceſſities of every one. This union of induſtry has not only eſtabliſhed agriculture, manufactures, and all the arts neceſſary for the ſupport of this little ſociety, but hath alſo ſupplied, for the purpoſes of exchange, ſuperfluities proportioned to the degree of its population.

Though the two ſexes live ſeparate at Euphrates, the Dumplers do not on that account fooliſhly renounce matrimony; but thoſe who find themſelves diſpoſed to it leave the city, and form an eſtabliſhment in the country, which is ſupported at the public expence. They repay this by the produce of their labours, which is all thrown into the public treaſury, and their children are ſent to be educated in the mother-country. Without this wiſe privilege, the Dumplers would be no better than monks, and in proceſs of time would become either ſavages or libertines.

The moſt edifying, and at the ſame time the moſt extraordinary circumſtance, is the harmony that ſubſiſts between all the ſects eſtabliſhed in Pennſylvania, notwithſtanding the difference of their religious opinions. Though not all of the ſame church, they all love and cheriſh one another as children of the ſame father. They have always continued to live like brethren, becauſe they had the liberty of thinking as men. To this delightful harmony muſt be attributed more particularly the rapid progreſs of the colony.

At the beginning of the year 1774, the population of this ſettlement amounted to three hundred and fifty

thouſand inhabitants, according to the calculations of the general congreſs. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that thirty thouſand Negroes made part of this numerous population; but truth alſo requires us to ſay, that ſlavery, in this province, hath not been a ſource of corruption, as it hath always been, and always will be, in ſocieties that are not ſo well regulated. The manners are ſtill pure, and even auſtere, in Pennſylvania. Is this ſingular advantage to be aſcribed to the climate, the laws, the religion, the emulation conſtantly ſubſiſting between the different ſects, or to ſome other particular cauſe? Let the reader determine this queſtion.

The Pennſylvanians are in general well made, and their women of an agreeable figure. As they ſooner become mothers than in Europe, they ſooner ceaſe breeding. If the heat of the climate ſeems on the one hand to haſten the operations of nature, its inconſtancy weakens them on the other. There is no place where the temperature of the ſky is more uncertain, for it ſometimes changes five or ſix times in the ſame day.

As, however, theſe varieties have neither any dangerous influence upon animals, nor even upon vegetables, and as they do not deſtroy the harveſts, there is a conſtant plenty, and an univerſal appearance of eaſy circumſtances. The economy which is ſo particularly attended to in Pennſylvania does not prevent both ſexes from being well clothed; and their food is ſtill preferable in its kind to their clothing. The families whoſe circumſtances are the leaſt eaſy, have all of them bread, meat, cyder, beer, and rum. A very great number are able to afford to drink conſtantly French and Spaniſh wines, punch, and even liquors of a higher price. The abuſe of theſe ſtrong drinks is leſs frequent than in other places, but is not without example.

The pleaſing view of this abundance is never diſturbed by the melancholy appearance of poverty. There are no poor in all Pennſylvania. All thoſe

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whoſe birth or fortune have left them without reſources, are ſuitably provided for out of the public treaſury. The ſpirit of benevolence is carried ſtill further, and is extended even to the moſt engaging hoſpitality. A traveller is welcome to ſtop in any place, without the apprehenſions of giving the leaſt uneaſy ſenſation, except that of regret for his departure.

The happineſs of the colony is not diſturbed by the oppreſſive burden of taxes. In 1766, they did not amount to more than 280,140 livres [11,672l. 10s.]. Moſt of them, even thoſe that were deſigned to repair the damages of war, were to ceaſe in 1772. If the people did not experience this alleviation at that period, it was owing to the irruptions of the ſavages, which had occaſioned extraordinary expences. This trifling inconvenience would not have been attended to, if Penn's family could have been prevailed upon to contribute to the public expences, in proportion to the revenue they obtained from the province: a circumſtance required by the inhabitants, and which in equity they ought to have complied with.

The Pennſylvanians, happy poſſeſſors, and peaceable tenants, of a country that uſually renders them twenty or thirty fold for whatever they lay out upon it, are not reſtrained by fear from the propagation of their ſpecies. There is hardly an unmarried perſon to be met with in the country. Marriage is the more happy and the more reverenced for it; the freedom, as well as the ſanctity of it, depends upon the choice of the parties: they chooſe the lawyer and the prieſt rather as witneſſes, than as the means to cement their engagement. Whenever two lovers meet with any oppoſition, they go off on horſeback together: the man gets behind his miſtreſs; and in this ſituation they preſent themſelves before the magiſtrate, where the girl declares ſhe has run away with her lover, and that they are come to be married. So ſolemn an avowal cannot be rejected, nor has any perſon a right to give them any moleſtation. In all other caſes, paternal authority is exceſſive. The head of a family, whoſe af-

fairs are involved, is allowed to ſell his children to his creditors; a puniſhment, one ſhould imagine, very ſufficient to induce an affectionate father to attend to his affairs. An adult diſcharges, in one year's ſervice, a debt of 112 livres 10 ſols [4l. 13s. 9d.]; children under twelve years of age are obliged to ſerve till they are one and twenty, in order to pay off the ſame ſum. This is an image of the old patriarchal manners of the Eaſt.

Though there be ſeveral villages, and even ſome cities in the colony, moſt of the inhabitants may be ſaid to live ſeparately, as it were, within their families. Every proprietor of land has his houſe in the midſt of a large plantation, entirely ſurrounded with quickſet hedges. Of courſe, each pariſh is near twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference. This diſtance of the churches makes the ceremonies of religion have little effect, and ſtill leſs influence. Children are not baptiſed till a few months, and ſometimes not till a year or two after their birth.

All the pomp of religion ſeems to be reſerved for the laſt-honours man receives before he is ſhut up in the grave for ever. As ſoon as any perſon is dead in the country, the neareſt neighbours have notice given them of the day of the burial. Theſe ſpread it in the habitations next to theirs; and within a few hours the news is thus conveyed to a diſtance. Every family ſends at leaſt one perſon to attend the funeral. As they come in, they are preſented with punch and cake. When the aſſembly is complete, the corpſe is carried to the burying-ground belonging to his ſect, or if that ſhould be at too great a diſtance, into one of the fields belonging to the family. There is generally a train of four or five hundred perſons on horſeback, who obſerve a continual ſilence, and have all the external appearance ſuitable to the melancholy nature of the ceremony. One ſingular circumſtance is, that the Pennſylvanians, who are the greateſt enemies to parade during their lives, ſeem to forget this character of modeſty at their deaths. They are all deſirous that

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the poor remains of their ſhort lives ſhould be attended with a funeral pomp proportioned to their rank or fortune. It is a general obſervation, that plain and virtuous people, even thoſe that are ſavage and poor, pay great attention to the ordering of their funerals. The reaſon is, that they look upon theſe laſt honours as duties of the ſurvivors, and the duties themſelves as ſo many diſtinct proofs of that principle of love which is very ſtrong in private families while they are in a ſtate neareſt to that of nature. It is not the dying man himſelf who exacts theſe honours; his parents, his wife, his children, voluntarily pay them to the aſhes of a huſband and father that has deſerved to be lamented. Theſe ceremonies have always more numerous attendants in ſmall ſocieties than in larger ones, becauſe, though there are fewer families upon the whole, the number of individuals there is much larger, and all the ties that connect them with each other are much ſtronger. This kind of intimate union has been the reaſon why ſo many ſmall nations have overcome larger ones; it drove Xerxes and the Perſians out of Greece, and it will ſome time or other expel the French from Corſica.

But from whence does Pennſylvania get the articles neceſſary for her own conſumption, and in what manner does ſhe contrive to be abundantly furniſhed with them? With the flax and hemp that is produced at home, and the cotton ſhe procures from South America, ſhe fabricates a great quantity of ordinary linens; and with the wool that comes from Europe ſhe manufactures many coarſe cloths. Whatever her own induſtry is not able to furniſh, ſhe purchaſes with the produce of her territory. Her ſhips carry over to the Engliſh, French, Dutch, and Daniſh iſlands, biſcuit, flour, butter, cheeſe, tallow, vegetables, fruits, ſalt meat, cyder, beer, and all ſorts of wood for building. The cotton, ſugar, coffee, brandy, and money, received in exchange, are ſo many materials for a freſh commerce with the mother-country, and with other European nations, as well as with other colonies. The

Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain, and Portugal, open an advantageous market for the corn and wood of Pennſylvania, which they purchaſe with wine and piaſtres. The mother-country receives from Pennſylvania, iron, flax, leather, furs, linſeed, maſts and yards, for which it returns thread, fine cloths, tea, Iriſh and India linens, hardware, and other articles of luxury or neceſſity. But all theſe branches of trade have been hitherto prejudicial to the colony, though it can neither be cenſured nor commiſerated on this account. Whatever meaſures may be adopted, it is unavoidably neceſſary that riſing ſtates ſhould contract debts; and the one we are now ſpeaking of will remain in debt as long as the clearing of the lands requires greater expences than the produce will enable it to anſwer. Other colonies, which enjoy almoſt excluſively ſome branches of trade, ſuch as rice, tobacco, and indigo, muſt have grown rich very rapidly. Pennſylvania, the riches of which are founded on agriculture and the increaſe of her flocks, will acquire them more gradually; but her proſperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent baſis.

If any circumſtance can retard the progreſs of the colony, it muſt be the irregular manner in which the plantations are formed. Penn's family, who are the proprietors of all the lands, grant them indiſcriminately in all parts, and in as large a proportion as they are required, provided they are paid 112 livres 10 ſols [4l. 13s. 9d.] for each hundred acres, and that the purchaſers agree to give an annual rent of 22 ſols 6 deniers [18s. 4½d.]. The conſequence of this is, that the province wants that ſort of connection which is ſo neceſſary in all eſtabliſhments, and that the ſcattered inhabitants eaſily become the prey of the moſt inſignificant enemy that ventures to attack them.

There are different ways of clearing the lands which are followed in the colony. Sometimes a huntſman will ſettle in the midſt of a foreſt, or quite cloſe to it. His neareſt neighbours aſſiſt him in cutting down trees, and placing them one above another: and this conſti-

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tutes a houſe. Around this ſpot he cultivates, without any aſſiſtance, a garden or a field, ſufficient to ſubſiſt himſelf and his family.

A few years after the firſt labours are finiſhed, ſome more active or richer men arrive from the mother-country. They indemnify the huntſman for his labour, and agree with the proprietors of the provinces for ſome lands that have not yet been paid for. They build more commodious habitations, and clear a greater extent of territory.

At length ſome Germans, who come into the New World from inclination, or are driven into it by perſecution, complete theſe ſettlements that are as yet unfiniſhed. The firſt and ſecond order of planters remove into other parts, with a more conſiderable ſtock for carrying on agriculture than they had at firſt.

In 1767, the exports of Pennſylvania amounted to 13,164,439 livres 5 ſols 3 deniers [about 548,518l. 6s. $0\frac{1}{4}$d.]; and they have ſince increaſed much more conſiderably in that colony than in any other.

Preſent ſtate of Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, or *the City of Brothers*, is the centre of this great trade. This famous city is ſituated at the conflux of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, at the diſtance of 120 miles from the ſea. Penn, who deſtined it for the metropolis of a great empire, deſigned it to be one mile in breadth and two in length between the rivers; but its population has proved inſufficient to cover this extent of ground. Hitherto the banks of the Delaware are only built upon; but without giving up the ideas of the legiſlator, or deviating from his plan. Theſe precautions are highly proper. Philadelphia muſt become the moſt conſiderable city of America, becauſe the colony muſt neceſſarily improve greatly, and its productions muſt paſs through the harbour of the capital before they arrive at the ſea.

The ſtreets of Philadelphia, which are all regular, are from fifty to a hundred feet broad. On each ſide of them there are foot-paths defended by poſts, placed at different diſtances.

The houſes, each of which has its garden and orchard, are commonly three ſtories high, and are built of brick. The preſent buildings have received an additional decoration from a kind of marble of different colours, which is found about a mile out of the town. Of this, tables, chimney-pieces, and other houſehold furniture, are made; beſides which, it is become rather a conſiderable article of commerce with the greateſt part of America.

Theſe valuable materials could not have been found in common in the houſes, unleſs they had been laviſhed in the churches. Every ſect has its own church, and ſome of them have ſeveral. But there are a number of citizens, who have neither churches, prieſts, nor any public form of worſhip, and who are ſtill happy, humane, and virtuous.

The town-houſe is a building holden in as much veneration, though not ſo much frequented, as the churches. It is conſtructed with the greateſt magnificence. There the legiſlators of the colony aſſemble every year, and more frequently if neceſſary, to ſettle every thing relative to public buſineſs. Theſe men of truſt are here ſupplied with every publication that may give them any information reſpecting government, trade, and adminiſtration. Next to the town-houſe is a moſt elegant library, formed in 1732, under the care of the learned Dr. Franklin, and conſiſting of the beſt Engliſh, with ſeveral French and Latin authors. It is only open to the public on Saturdays. The founders have free acceſs to it at all times. Others pay a trifle for the loan of the books, and a forfeit if they be not returned at a ſtated time. This little fund, which is conſtantly accumulating, is appropriated to the increaſe of the library, to which have been lately added, in order to make it more uſeful, ſome mathematical and philoſophical inſtruments, with a very fine cabinet of natural hiſtory.

Not far from this there is another monument of the ſame nature. This conſiſts of a fine collection of Greek and Latin claſſics, with their moſt eſteemed

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commentators, and of the beſt performances that have graced the modern languages. This library was bequeathed to the public, in 1752, by the learned and generous citizen Logan, who had ſpent a long and laborious life in collecting it.

The college, which is intended to prepare the mind for the attainment of all the ſciences, owed its riſe, in 1749, to the labours of Dr. Franklin, whoſe name ſtands always recorded among the great or uſeful things, accompliſhed in this country which gave him birth. At firſt, it only initiated the youth in the belles lettres; but medicine, chemiſtry, botany, and natural philoſophy, have been ſince taught there. Knowledge of every kind, and maſters in every ſcience, will increaſe, in proportion as the lands, which are become their patrimony, ſhall yield a greater produce. If ever deſpotiſm, ſuperſtition, or war, ſhould plunge Europe again into that ſtate of barbariſm out of which philoſophy and the arts have extricated it, the ſacred fire will be kept alive in Philadelphia, and come from thence to enlighten the world.

This city is amply ſupplied with every aſſiſtance human nature can require, and with all the reſources induſtry can make uſe of. Its quays, the principal of which is two hundred feet wide, preſent a ſuit of convenient warehouſes, and docks ingeniouſly contrived for ſhip-building. Ships of five hundred tons may land there without any difficulty, except in times of froſt. There, is taken on board the merchandiſe which has either been brought by the rivers Schuylkill and Delaware, or carried along better roads than are to be met with in moſt parts of Europe. Police has made a greater progreſs in this part of the New World, than among the moſt ancient nations of the Old.

It is impoſſible to determine preciſely the population of Philadelphia, as the bills of mortality are not kept with any exactneſs, and there are ſeveral ſects who do not chriſten their children. It appears, however, that in 1766 it contained 20,000 inhabitants. As moſt of them are employed in the ſale of the pro-

ductions of the colony, and in ſupplying it with what they draw from abroad, their fortunes muſt neceſſarily be very conſiderable; and they muſt increaſe ſtill further in proportion as the cultivation advances in a country where not above one-ſixth of the land has hitherto been cleared.

* Philadelphia, as well as the other cities of Pennſylvania, is entirely open. The whole country is equally without defence. This is a neceſſary conſequence of the principles of the Quakers. Theſe ſectaries cannot be too much favoured, on account of their modeſty, probity, love of labour, and benevolence. One might, perhaps, be tempted to accuſe their legiſlation of imprudence and temerity.

It may, perhaps, be ſaid, that when the founders of the colony eſtabliſhed that civil ſecurity which protects one citizen from another, they ſhould alſo have eſtabliſhed that political ſecurity, which protects one ſtate from the encroachments of another. The authority which hath been exerted to maintain peace and good order at home, ſeems to have done nothing, if it has not prevented invaſion from abroad. To pretend that the colony would never have enemies, was to ſuppoſe the world peopled with Quakers. It was encouraging the ſtrong to fall upon the weak, leaving the lamb to the mercy of the wolf, and ſubmitting the whole country to the oppreſſive yoke of the firſt tyrant who ſhould think proper to ſubdue it.

But on the other hand, how ſhall we reconcile the ſtrictneſs of the goſpel maxims, by which the Quakers are literally governed, with thoſe military preparations, either offenſive or defenſive, which maintain a continual ſtate of war between all Chriſtian nations? Beſides, what could the enemy do, if they were to enter Pennſylvania ſword in hand? Unleſs they maſſacred, in the ſpace of a night or a day's time, all the inhabitants of that fortunate region, they would not be able totally to extirpate the race of thoſe mild and charitable men. Violence has its boundaries in its very exceſs; it is conſumed and ex-

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tinguiſhed, as the fire in the aſhes that feed it. But virtue, when guided by humanity and by the ſpirit of benevolence, is revived as the tree under the edge of the pruning-knife. The wicked ſtand in need of numbers to execute their ſanguinary projects. But the Quaker, who is a good man, wants only a brother from whom he may receive, or to whom he may give aſſiſtance. Let then the warlike nations, let people who are either ſlaves or tyrants, go into Pennſylvania; there they will find all avenues open to them, all property at their diſpoſal; not a ſingle ſoldier, but numbers of merchants and farmers. But if theſe inhabitants be tormented, reſtrained, or oppreſſed, they will fly, and leave their lands uncultivated, their manufactures deſtroyed, and their warehouſes empty. They will cultivate, and ſpread population in ſome new land; they will go round the world rather than turn their arms againſt their purſuers, or ſubmit to bear their yoke. Their enemies will have only gained the hatred of mankind, and the execration of poſterity.

May I not be deceived in what I have advanced; and may I not have miſtaken the wiſhes of my heart for a decree of truth! I am diſtreſſed even at the bare ſuſpicion. Fortunate and wiſe country! art thou then one day to experience the fatal deſtiny of other countries? art thou to be ravaged and ſubdued as they have been? Far be it from me to entertain a preſage that might tend to invalidate, in my mind, the moſt comfortable of all ideas; that there exiſts a providence who watches over the preſervation of the good! Nor let the numerous events which ſeem to depoſe the contrary have any influence over me!

It is upon this proſpect that the Pennſylvanians have founded their opinion of their future ſecurity. Beſides, as they do not perceive that the moſt warlike ſtates are the moſt permanent; that miſtruſt, which is ever upon its guard, makes men reſt with greater tranquillity, or that there can be any ſatisfaction in the poſſeſſion of any thing that is kept with ſuch ap-

prehenſions; they enjoy the preſent moment without any concern for the future. The people of Maryland are of a different opinion. BOOK XVIII.

Origin of Maryland. Nature of its government.

Charles the Firſt, far from having any averſion for the Catholics, as his predeceſſors, had ſome reaſon to protect them, from the zeal which, in hopes of being tolerated, they had ſhown for his intereſt. But when the accuſation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak prince, whoſe chief aim was to eſtabliſh a deſpotic government, he was obliged to give the Catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted againſt them by Henry the Eighth. Theſe circumſtances induced Lord Baltimore to ſeek an aſylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conſcience. As he found there no toleration for an excluſive ſyſtem of faith, which was itſelf intolerant, he formed the deſign of a new ſettlement in that uninhabited part of the country which lay between the river of Potowmack and Pennſylvania. His death, which happened ſoon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a ſtop to the project for that time; but it was reſumed, from the ſame religious motives, by his ſon. This young nobleman left England in the year 1633, with two hundred Roman Catholics, moſt of them of good families. The educatien they had received, the cauſe of religion for which they had left their country, and the fortune which their leader promiſed them, prevented thoſe diſturbances which are but too common in infant ſettlements. The neighbouring ſavages, won by mildneſs and acts of beneficence, concurred with eagerneſs to aſſiſt the new coloniſts in forming their ſettlement. With this unexpected help, theſe fortunate perſons, attached to each other by the ſame principles of religion, and directed by the prudent councils of their chief, applied themſelves unanimouſly to every kind of uſeful labour: the view of the peace and happineſs they enjoyed, invited among them a number of men who were either perſecuted

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for the ſame religion, or for different opinions. The Catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themſelves had been the victims, after having firſt ſet the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all ſects, of what religious principles ſoever. They all enjoyed the rights of a city in the ſame extent; and the government was modelled upon that of the mother-country.

Theſe wiſe precautions, however, did not ſecure Baltimore, at the time of the ſubverſion of the monarchy, from loſing all the conceſſions he had obtained. Deprived of his poſſeſſions by Cromwell, he was reſtored to them by Charles the Second; after which they were again diſputed with him. Though he was perfectly clear from any reproach of mal-adminiſtration; and though he was extremely zealous for the Tramontane doctrines, and much attached to the intereſts of the Stuarts; yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James II. and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the juriſdiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himſelf had formed at his own expence. This prince, whoſe misfortune it had always been not to diſtinguiſh his friends from his foes, and who had alſo the ridiculous pride to think that regal authority was ſufficient to juſtify every act of violence, was preparing a ſecond time to deprive Baltimore of what had been given him by the two kings, his father and brother, when he was himſelf removed from the throne which he was ſo unfit to fill. The ſucceſſor of this weak deſpotic prince terminated this conteſt, which had ariſen before his acceſſion to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character: he left the Baltimores in poſſeſſion of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority. When this family, who were more regardleſs of the prejudices of religion, became members of the church of England, they were rein-

ſtated in the hereditary government of Maryland; they began again to conduct the colony, aſſiſted by a council, and two deputies choſen by each diſtrict. BOOK XVIII.

Fortunately for itſelf, Maryland hath been leſs fruitful in events than any other ſettlement formed in the northern continent. There are only two facts worthy of being recorded in its hiſtory. Events which have happened at Maryland.

Berkley, extravagantly zealous for the church of England, expelled from Virginia thoſe among its inhabitants who did not profeſs this mode of worſhip; and they were obliged to ſeek an aſylum in the province we are now ſpeaking of. The Virginians were highly incenſed at the favourable reception which theſe people met with; and in the firſt rage of an unjuſt reſentment, they perſuaded the ſavages that their new neighbours were Spaniards. This odious name entirely changed the ſentiments of the Indians; and, without deliberation, they ravaged the grounds which they had aſſiſted in clearing; and maſſacred, without mercy, thoſe very men whom they had juſt received in a brotherly manner. It required a great deal of time, and patience, and many ſacrifices, before theſe prejudiced minds could be convinced of their miſtake.

Baltimore, attending more to his reaſon than to the prejudices of education, granted an equal ſhare in the government to every different profeſſor of Chriſtianity. The Catholics were excluded from it, at the memorable period when this nobleman was deprived of his authority. The Britiſh miniſtry either could not, or would not, put a ſtop to this act of fanaticiſm. It exerted its influence only in preventing the founders of the colony from being driven out of it, and the penal laws, which were not even attended to in England, from being enforced.

The province is very well watered. A number of ſprings are found in it, and it is interſected by five navigable rivers. The air, which is much too damp upon the coaſts, becomes pure, light, and thin, in propor- Preſent ſtate of Maryland. Its cultures.

BOOK XVIII. tion as the ſoil becomes more elevated. Spring and autumn are moſt agreeably temperate; but in the winter there are ſome exceedingly cold days; and in ſummer, ſome in which the heat is very troubleſome. The circumſtance, however, which is the leaſt ſupportable in this country, is the great quantity of diſguſting inſects that are found there.

Maryland is one of the ſmalleſt provinces of North America; and accordingly, grants have been made of almoſt all the territory, both in the plains and upon the mountains. They remained for a long time either fallow, or very ill cultivated; but the labours have increaſed, ſince the population, according to the calculation of congreſs, hath amounted to three hundred and twenty thouſand inhabitants.

Several of theſe are Catholics, and a great many more are Germans. Their manners have more mildneſs than energy; and this may ariſe from the women not being excluded from ſociety, as in moſt of the other parts of the continent. The men who are free, and not very rich, who are ſettled upon the high grounds, and who originally bred no flocks, cut no wood, and cultivated no corn, but for the uſe of the colony, have gradually furniſhed a great quantity of theſe articles to the Weſt Indies. The proſperity, however, of the colony, hath been more particularly owing to the ſlaves employed at a greater or leſs diſtance from the ſea, in the plantations of tobacco.

This is a ſharp cauſtic plant; formerly much uſed, as it ſtill is, ſometimes in medicine, which, if taken inwardly, in ſubſtance, is a real poiſon, more or leſs active, according to the doſe. It is chewed, ſmoked in the leaves, and is in more general uſe as ſnuff.

It was diſcovered in the year 1520, near Tabaſco, in the Gulf of Mexico, from whence it was carried to the neighbouring iſlands. It was ſoon after introduced in our climates, where the uſe of it became a matter of diſpute among the learned, which even the ignorant took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired ce-

lebrity. By degrees faſhion and cuſtom have greatly extended its conſumption in all parts of the known world. BOOK XVIII.

The ſtem of this plant is ſtraight, hairy, and viſcous. It is three or four feet high. Its leaves, equally downy, and diſpoſed alternately on the ſtem, are thick, pulpy, of a pale green, broad, oval, terminating in a point, and much larger at the foot than at the ſummit of the plant. This ſummit branches out into cluſters of flowers of a light purple hue. Their tubular calix, which hath five indentations, encloſes a corolla, lengthened out in form of a funnel, ſpread out at the top, divided into five parts, and furniſhed with as many ſtamina. The piſtil, concealed at the bottom of the flower, and terminated by a ſingle ſtyle, becomes, as it ripens, a capſula, with two cavities filled with ſmall ſeeds.

Tobacco requires a moderately binding ſoil, but rich, even, deep, and not too much expoſed to inundations. A virgin ſoil is very proper for this plant, which abſorbs a great deal of moiſture.

The ſeeds of the tobacco are ſown upon beds. When it is grown to the height of two inches, and hath got at leaſt half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up in damp weather, and tranſplanted, with great care, into a well-prepared ſoil, where the plants are placed at the diſtance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with theſe precautions, their leaves do not ſuffer the leaſt injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four-and-twenty hours.

The cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which grow round it muſt be plucked up; the top of it muſt be cut off, when it is two feet and a half from the ground, to prevent it from growing too high; it muſt be ſtripped of all ſprouting ſuckers; the leaves which grow too near the bottom of the ſtem, thoſe that are in the leaſt inclined to decay, and thoſe which the inſects have touched, muſt all be taken off, and their number re-

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duced to eight or ten at moſt. One induſtrious man is able to take care of two thouſand ſix hundred plants, which ought to yield one thouſand weight of tobacco.

The plant is left about four months in the ground. As it advances to maturity, the pleaſant and lively green colour of its leaves is changed into a darker hue; the leaves are alſo curved, the ſcent of them grows ſtronger, and extends to a diſtance. The plant is then ripe, and muſt be cut up.

The plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the ground that produced them, where they are left to exude only for one night. The next day they are laid in warehouſes, conſtructed in ſuch a manner that the air may have free acceſs to them on all ſides. Here they are left ſeparately ſuſpended as long a time as is neceſſary to dry them properly. They are then ſpread upon hurdles, and well covered over, where they ferment for a week or two. At laſt they are ſtripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made up into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary according to the different taſtes of the ſeveral nations that uſe it, have nothing to do with its cultivation.

The inhabitants of the Eaſt Indies, and of Africa, cultivate tobacco only for their own uſe. They neither ſell nor purchaſe any.

Salonica is the great mart for tobacco in the Levant. Syria, the Morea, or the Peloponneſus, and Egypt, ſend there all their ſuperfluous quantity. From this port it is ſent to Italy, where it is ſmoked, after it hath been mixed with the tobacco of Dalmatia and Croatia, to ſoften its cauſtic quality.

The tobacco of theſe two laſt provinces is of a very excellent kind; but it is ſo ſtrong, that it cannot be uſed till mixed with a milder ſort.

The tobacco of Hungary would be tolerably good, if it had not generally a ſmell of ſmoke which is very diſguſting.

The Ukraine, Livonia, Pruſſia, and Pomerania, cul-

tivate a tolerably large quantity of this production. Its leaves are wider than they are long, are very thin, and have neither flavour nor conſiſtence. In order to improve it, the court of Ruſſia hath cauſed ſome tobacco ſeeds, brought from Virginia and from Hamersfort, to be ſown in their colonies of Sarratow, upon the Volga; but this experiment hath been attended with little or no ſucceſs.

The tobacco of the Palatinate is very indifferent; but it hath the property of mixing with a better kind, and of acquiring its flavour.

Holland alſo furniſhes tobacco. That which is produced in the province of Utrecht, from Hamersfort, and from four or five neighbouring diſtricts, is of a ſuperior quality. Its leaves are large, ſupple, oily, and of a good colour. It hath the uncommon advantage of communicating its delicious perfume to tobacco of an inferior quality. There is a great deal of this latter ſort upon the territories of the Republic; but the ſpecies which grows in Guelderland is the worſt of any.

Tobacco was formerly cultivated in France, and with more ſucceſs than any where elſe, near Pont de l'Arche in Normandy, at Verton in Picardy, and at Montauban, Tonneins, and Cleral, in Guyenne. It was prohibited in 1721, except upon ſome frontier towns, whoſe original terms of capitulation it was not thought proper to infringe. Hainault, Artois, and Franche Compté, profited very little from a liberty which the nature of their ſoil did not allow them to make uſe of. It has been more uſeful to Flanders and Alſace; for their tobaccos, though very weak, may be mixed, without inconvenience, with others of a ſuperior kind.

In the beginning, the iſlands of the New World attended to the culture of tobacco; but it was ſucceſſively ſucceeded by richer productions in them all, except at Cuba, which ſupplies all the ſnuff conſumed by the Spaniards of both hemiſpheres. Its perfume is exquiſite, but too ſtrong. The ſame crown derives

BOOK XVIII. from Caraccas the tobacco which is ſmoked by its ſubjects in Europe. It is likewiſe uſed in the North, and in Holland, becauſe there is none to be found any where to be compared with it, for this purpoſe.

The Brazils cultivated this production very early, and have not ſince diſdained it. They have been encouraged in this purſuit, by the conſtant repute which their tobacco hath enjoyed upon the weſtern coaſts of Africa. Even in our climates, it is in tolerable requeſt among perſons who ſmoke. It could not be taken in ſnuff, on account of its acrimony, without the preparations which it undergoes. Theſe preparations conſiſt in ſoaking every leaf in a decoction of tobacco, and of gum copal. Theſe leaves, thus ſteeped, are formed into rolls, and wrapped up in the ſkin of an ox, which keeps up their moiſture.

But the beſt tobaccos upon the face of the earth grow in the North of America; and in that part of the New World, the tobacco gathered at Maryland is of the ſecond ſort. This plant has not, however, an equal degree of perfection throughout the whole extent of the colonies. That of the growth of Cheſter and of Chouptan, reſembles the Virginia tobacco in quality, and is conſumed in France. That which grows in Patapſiſco and Potuxant, which is very fit for ſmoking, is conſumed in the North, and in Holland. Upon the northern ſhores of the Potowmack, the tobacco is excellent in the higher parts, and of moderate quality in the lower ones.

Saint Mary, formerly the capital of the ſtate, is of no conſequence at preſent; and Annapolis, which now enjoys this prerogative, is ſcarce more conſiderable. It is at Baltimore that almoſt all the buſineſs is tranſacted, the harbour of which can receive ſhips that draw ſeventeen feet of water. Theſe three towns, the only ones which are in the colony, are ſituated upon the bay of Cheſapeak, which runs two hundred and fifty miles up the country, and the mean breadth of which is twelve miles. There are two capes at its entrance; and in the middle is a ſand bank. The channel which

is near Cape Charles can admit none but very ſmall veſſels, while that which runs along-ſide Cape Henry admits the largeſt ſhips at any ſeaſon of the year.

What Maryland may become.

Few of the lands between the Apalachian mountains and the ſea are ſo good as thoſe of Maryland. Theſe, however, are in general too light, ſandy, and ſhallow, to reward the planter for his labour and expences, in as ſhort a time as in our climates. Fertility, which always attends the firſt clearing of the ſoil, is rapidly followed by an extraordinary decreaſe in the quantity and quality of the corn. The ſoil is ſtill ſooner exhauſted by the culture of tobacco. This leaf loſes much of its ſtrength, whenever the ſame ſpot hath yielded, without intermiſſion, a few crops of tobacco. For this reaſon, inſpectors were created in 1733, who were empowered to cauſe all the tobacco to be burnt which had not the proper flavour. This was a prudent inſtitution; but it ſeems to foretel, that the moſt important production of the province muſt one day be given up, or that it will inſenſibly be reduced to very little.

Then, or perhaps before, the iron mines, which are in great abundance in the colony, will be worked. This is a ſource of proſperity which hath not hitherto been carried beyond the uſe of ſeventeen or eighteen forges. A greater degree of liberty, and new wants, will communicate more ſtrength and more activity to the coloniſts.

Other manufactures will alſo undoubtedly ariſe. Maryland had never any of any kind. It received from Great Britain all the articles it wanted for the moſt ordinary purpoſes of life. This was one of the reaſons which occaſioned its being burdened with debts. Mr. Stirenwith hath at length eſtabliſhed manufactures for ſtockings, for ſilk, woollen, and cotton ſtuffs, and for all kinds of hardware, even fire-arms. Theſe branches of induſtry, at preſent united in one manufacture, at a conſiderable expence, and with extraordinary ſagacity, will be more or leſs rapidly diſ-

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perſed throughout the province; and, croſſing the Potowmack, will be likewiſe adopted at Virginia.

In what manner Virginia was eſtabliſhed, and by whom.

This other colony, with the ſame kind of ſoil and of climate as Maryland, hath a few advantages over the latter. Its extent is much more conſiderable. Its rivers can admit larger ſhips, and allow them a longer navigation. Its inhabitants have a more elevated turn of mind, have more reſolution, and are more enterpriſing: this may be attributed to their being generally of Engliſh extraction.

Virginia was, about two centuries ago, the only country which England intended to occupy on the continent of North America. This name doth not at preſent belong to any thing more than the ſpace which is bounded by Maryland on one ſide, and by Carolina on the other.

The Engliſh landed upon theſe ſavage ſhores in 1606, and their firſt ſettlement was James Town. Unfortunately, the object that firſt preſented itſelf to them was a rivulet, which, iſſuing from a ſand-bank, carried along with it a quantity of talc, which glittered at the bottom of a clear and running water. In an age when gold and ſilver were the only objects of men's reſearches, this deſpicable ſubſtance was immediately taken for ſilver. The firſt and only employment of the new coloniſts was to collect it; and the illuſion was carried ſo far, that two ſhips, which arrived there with neceſſaries, were ſent home ſo fully freighted with theſe imaginary riches, that there ſcarce remained any room for a few furs. As long as this infatuation laſted, the coloniſts diſdained to employ themſelves in clearing the lands; ſo that a dreadful famine was at length the conſequence of this fooliſh pride. Sixty men only remained alive out of five hundred who had been ſent from Europe. Theſe unfortunate few, having only a fortnight's proviſion left, were upon the point of embarking for Newfoundland, when Lord Delaware arrived there with three ſhips, a freſh colony, and ſupplies of all kinds.

Hiſtory has deſcribed this nobleman to us as a man whoſe genius raiſed him above the common prejudices of the times. His diſintereſtedneſs was equal to his knowledge. In accepting the government of the colony, which was ſtill in its infancy, he had no motive but to gratify the inclination a virtuous mind has to do good, and to ſecure the eſteem of poſterity, which is the ſecond reward of that generoſity that devotes itſelf totally to the ſervice of the public. As ſoon as he appeared, the knowledge of his character procured him univerſal reſpect. He firſt endeavoured to reconcile the wretched coloniſts to their fatal country, to comfort them in their ſufferings, and to make them hope for a ſpeedy concluſion of them. After this, joining the firmneſs of an enlightened magiſtrate to the tenderneſs of a good father, he taught them how to direct their labours to an uſeful end. Unfortunately for the reviving colony, Delaware's declining health ſoon obliged him to return to Europe; but he never loſt ſight of his favourite coloniſts, nor ever failed to make uſe of all his credit and intereſt at court to ſupport them.

The colony, however, made but little progreſs; a circumſtance that was attributed to the oppreſſion of excluſive privileges. The company which exerciſed them was diſſolved upon Charles the Firſt's acceſſion to the throne. Before that period, all the authority had been entirely in the hands of the monopoly. Virginia then came under the immediate direction of the crown, which exacted no more than a rent of two livres five ſols [1s. 10½d.] upon every hundred acres that were cultivated.

Till this time the coloniſts had known no true enjoyment of property. Every individual wandered where chance directed him, or fixed himſelf in the place he liked beſt, without conſulting any titles or agreements. At length boundaries were aſcertained; and thoſe who had been ſo long wanderers, now become citizens, had determined limits to their plantations. The eſtabliſhment of this firſt law of ſociety

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changed the appearance of every thing. Freſh plantations aroſe on all ſides. This activity drew great numbers of enterpriſing men over to Virginia, who came either in ſearch of fortune, or of liberty, which is the only compenſation for the want of it. The memorable troubles that produced a change in the conſtitution of England, added to theſe a multitude of Royaliſts, who went there with a reſolution to wait, with Berkley, the governor of the colony, who was alſo attached to King Charles, the fate of that deſerted monarch. Berkley ſtill continued to protect them, even after the king's death; but ſome of the inhabitants, either brought over or bribed, and ſupported by the appearance of a powerful fleet, delivered up the colony to the Protector. If the governor was compelled to follow the ſtream againſt his will, he was, at leaſt, among thoſe whom Charles had honoured with poſts of confidence and rank, the laſt who ſubmitted to Cromwell, and the firſt who ſhook off his yoke. This brave man was ſinking under the oppreſſion of the times, when the voice of the people recalled him to the place which his ſucceſſor's death had left vacant; but far from yielding to theſe flattering ſolicitations, he declared that he never would ſerve any but the legitimate heir of the dethroned monarch. Such an example of magnanimity, at a time when there were no hopes of the reſtoration of the royal family, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the people, that Charles the Second was proclaimed in Virginia before he had been proclaimed in England.

Obſtacles to the proſperity of Virginia.

The colony did not, however, receive from ſo generous a ſtep all the benefit that might have been expected. The new monarch, either from weakneſs or corruption, granted to rapacious courtiers immenſe territories, which abſorbed the poſſeſſions of a great number of obſcure citizens. The act of navigation, ſuggeſted by the Protector for the purpoſe of ſecuring to the mother-country the ſupplying of all their ſettlements in the New World with proviſions, and the excluſive trade of all their productions, was obſerved

with ſuch rigour, as to double almoſt the value of the articles to be purchaſed by Virginia, and leſſen ſtill more the value of what they had to ſell. This double oppreſſion exhauſted all the reſources, and diſpelled all the hopes of the colony; and to complete its misfortunes, the ſavages attacked it with a degree of ſpirit and ſkill which they had not manifeſted in any of the preceding wars.

Scarce had the Engliſh landed in theſe unknown regions, than they had diſpoſed the natives againſt them by the diſhoneſty they had practiſed in their exchanges. This ſource of diſcord might have been put a ſtop to, had the Engliſh conſented to take Indian wives, as they were ſolicited to do. But although they had not yet any European women with them, they rejected this connection with diſdain. This contempt exaſperated the Americans, already alienated by their want of faith; and they became irreconcileable enemies. Their hatred was manifeſted by ſecret aſſaſſinations, and by public hoſtilities, and in 1622, by a conſpiracy, in which three hundred and thirty-four people loſt their lives, and which would even have deſtroyed the whole colony, had not the commanders been appriſed of the danger a few hours before the time appointed for a general maſſacre.

Since this act of treachery, many atrocious ones have been committed on both ſides. Truces between the two nations were unfrequent, and ill obſerved. The rupture was uſually begun by the Engliſh. The leſs profit they drew from their plantations, the more artifice and force did they employ to deprive the ſavages of their furs. This inſatiable avidity, which indiſcriminately ſeized upon all the inhabitants, whether ſettled or wandering, in the neighbourhood of the colony, made the Americans again take up arms towards the end of the year 1675. They all, by agreement, fell upon the ſettlements, imprudently diſperſed, and at too great a diſtance to afford each other any aſſiſtance.

Such a complication of misfortunes drove the Vir-

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ginians to deſpair. Berkley, who had ſo long been their idol, was accuſed of wanting fortitude to reſiſt the oppreſſions of the mother-country, and activity to repel the irruptions of the ſavages. The eyes of all were immediately fixed upon Bacon, a young officer, full of vivacity, eloquence, and intrepidity, of an inſinuating diſpoſition, and an agreeable perſon. They choſe him for their general, in an irregular and tumultuous manner. Though his military ſucceſſes might have juſtified this prepoſſeſſion of the licentious multitude, yet this circumſtance did not prevent the governor, who, with his remaining partiſans, had retired on the borders of the Potowmack, from declaring Bacon a traitor to his country. A ſentence ſo ſevere, and which was ill-timed, determined Bacon to aſſume a power by force, which he had exerciſed peaceably, and without oppoſition, for ſix months. Death put an end to all his projects. The malecontents, diſunited by the loſs of their chief, and intimidated by the troops which were coming from Europe, were induced to ſue for pardon, which was readily granted them. The rebellion, therefore, was attended with no bad conſequences, and mercy enſured ſubmiſſion.

Tranquillity was no ſooner reſtored, than means were thought of to reconcile the Indians, with whom all intercourſe had for ſome time been at an end. The communications were opened again in the year 1678, by the general aſſembly; but it was ſtipulated, that the exchanges ſhould be made in no other markets, except ſuch as were ſettled by themſelves. This innovation diſpleaſed the ſavages; and matters ſoon returned to their former courſe.

The raiſing of the value of tobacco was a ſtill more important object, as this was the moſt conſiderable, and almoſt the only production of the colony. It was thought that nothing would contribute more effectually to raiſe it from the ſtate of degradation into which it had fallen, than to refuſe the tobaccos which were brought to Virginia from Maryland and from Carolina, and to ſend them to Europe. If the legiſlators

had been better informed, they would have understood, that this ſtaple muſt neceſſarily, ſooner or later, draw into their own hands the freight of this commodity, and would make them the arbiters of its price. By ſending it away from their ports, through an ill-judged motive of avarice, they drew upon themſelves, in all the markets, competitors, who convinced them, by dear-bought experience, of the error of their principles. BOOK XVIII.

Theſe arrangements were ſcarcely made, before there arrived a new governor to the colony, in the ſpring of 1679. This was Lord Colepepper. The troubles with which this ſettlement had been ſo recently agitated encouraged him to propoſe a law, which ſhould condemn to one year's impriſonment, or to a fine of 11,250 livres [468l. 15s.], all thoſe citizens who ſhould ſpeak or write any thing againſt their governor; and to three months impriſonment, or to a fine of 2250 livres [93l. 15s.], thoſe who ſhould ſpeak or write againſt the members of the council, or againſt any other magiſtrate.

Was this governor apprehenſive then, that the faults of adminiſtration, and the diſhoneſty of its adminiſtrators, ſhould be ſuſpected? In what part of the world would not the ſame conſequences be drawn from the impoſing of ſilence? Is it praiſe or cenſure that is feared, when the command for ſilence is iſſued? Theſe prohibitions calumniate the government, if it be good, becauſe they tend to perſuade that it is not ſo. But what meaſures can be adopted to enforce the obſervance of theſe prohibitions? Can we be ignorant, that it is the nature of man to attempt thoſe actions, which, by becoming dangerous, have a ſenſe of glory attached to them? To oppreſs a man, and to prevent him from murmuring and complaining, is an atrocious act of violence againſt which he never fails to revolt. But how will the government diſcover thoſe who are rebellious to their orders? This can only be done by ſpies, by informations, and by all thoſe meaſures which will certainly divide the citizens, and raiſe miſtruſt and

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hatred among them. Whom will government punish? The moſt honeſt and the moſt generous men, who will never be ſilent when they are perſuaded that it is their duty to ſpeak out. They will certainly bid defiance to menaces, or will know how to elude them. If they ſhould adopt the firſt of theſe reſolutions, will government dare to impriſon them? and if it ſhould, would they not ſoon find perſons to avenge them? If it ſhould not, they would fall into contempt. If theſe men had been allowed to explain themſelves with frankneſs, they would have blended dignity and moderation in their remonſtrances. Conſtraint, and the danger of puniſhment, will transform theſe remonſtrances into violent, bitter, and ſeditious libels; and it is the tyranny of government that will have rendered them guilty. Sovereigns, or you who are depoſitaries of their authority, if your adminiſtration be a good one, deliver it up to all the ſeverity of our examination; it can only enſure our reſpect and ſubmiſſion. If it be a bad one, correct it, or defend it by force. If you be a ſet of abominable tyrants, have at leaſt the courage to acknowledge it. If you be juſt, let the people talk and ſleep in peace. If you be oppreſſors, tranquillity and ſleep are not made for you, nor will you ever enjoy them, notwithſtanding all your efforts. Remember the fate of him who was willing to be hated, provided he might be feared. You will certainly experience the ſame, unleſs you be ſurrounded by vile ſlaves, ſuch as the inhabitants of Virginia at that time undoubtedly were. The repreſentatives of this province granted, without heſitation, their conſent to a law, which ſecured impunity to all the plunders of their governors. The misfortunes of Virginia were ſoon aggravated by other calamities.

At the origin of the colony, juſtice was adminiſtered with a degree of diſintereſtedneſs which warranted the equity of the judgments. One ſingle court took cognizance of all differences, and decided upon them in a few days, with a right of appeal to the general aſſembly, which uſed as much diſpatch in ſettling them,

This order of things gave the governors too little influence over the fortunes of individuals, for them not to endeavour to ſuppreſs it. By their manœuvres, and under ſeveral pretences, they obtained that the appeals, which till then had been carried before the repreſentatives of the province, ſhould be made excluſively to their council. BOOK XVIII.

A ſtill more fatal innovation was ordained in 1692 by another governor, who enacted, that the laws, the tribunals, the formalities, every thing, in a word, that contributed to form the chaos of Engliſh juriſprudence, ſhould be eſtabliſhed in his government. Nothing was leſs ſuitable to the planters of Virginia, than ſtatutes ſo ſingular, ſo complicated, and often ſo contradictory. Accordingly, theſe uninformed men found themſelves engaged in a labyrinth to which they could find no iſſue. They were generally alarmed for their rights and their properties; and this apprehenſion ſlackened their labours for a long time.

Theſe were not carried on with vigour and ſucceſs, till after the beginning of the century, at which time nothing impeded their increaſe; only the frontiers of the colony were expoſed in the latter times to the devaſtations of the ſavages, whom they had exaſperated by their acts of atrociouſneſs and injuſtice. Theſe differences were terminated in 1774. They would have been forgotten, had it not been for the ſpeech made by Logan, chief of the Shawaneſes, to Lord Dunmore, governor of the province.

"I now aſk of every white mane, whether he hath "ever entered the cottage of Logan, when preſſed "with hunger, and been refuſed food? Whether coming naked, and ſhivering with cold, Logan hath not "given him ſomething to cover himſelf with. During "the courſe of this laſt war, ſo long and ſo bloody, "Logan hath remained quietly upon his mat, wiſhing "to be the advocate of peace. Yes, ſuch is my attachment for white men, that even thoſe of my nation, when they paſſed by me, pointed at me, ſaying, *Logan is a friend to white men.* I had even

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"thought of living amongſt you; but that was before "the injury which I have received from one of you. "Laſt ſummer, Colonel Creſſop maſſacred in cool blood, "and without any provocation, all the relations of Lo- "gan, without ſparing either his wife or his children. "There is not now one drop of my blood in the veins "of any human creature exiſting. This is what has "excited my revenge. I have fought it; I have kill- "ed ſeveral of your people, and my hatred is appeaſ- "ed. I rejoice at ſeeing the proſpect of peace bright- "en upon my country. But do not imagine that my "joy is inſtigated by fear. Logan knows not what "fear is. He will never turn his back, in order to ſave "his life. But, alas! no one remains to mourn for "Logan when he ſhall be no more!"

What a beautiful, ſimple, energetic, and affecting ſpeech! Are Demoſthenes, Cicero, or Boſſuet, more eloquent than this ſavage? What better proof can be adduced of the truth of that well-known maxim, which ſays, that *from the abundance of the heart the mouth ſpeaks.*

Population, trade, and manners of Virginia.

Virginia, like moſt of the other colonies, was inhabited at firſt only by vagabonds, deſtitute of family and fortune. They ſoon obtained ſome kind of wealth by labour, and they were deſirous of ſharing the ſweets of it with a female companion. As there were no women in the province, and that they would have none but ſuch as were decent, they gave 2250 livres [93l. 15s.] for every young perſon brought them from Europe with a certificate of virtue and chaſtity. This cuſtom was not of long duration. As ſoon as all doubts reſpecting the ſalubrity and fertility of the country were removed, whole families, even of reſpectable rank, went to Virginia. The population was increaſing with ſome degree of rapidity, when its progreſs was ſtopped by fanaticiſm.

The religion of the mother-country was the firſt, and ſoon became the only one which was followed in this province, when ſome Non-conformiſts alſo croſſed the ſeas. Their tenets, or their ceremonies,

diſguſted; and in 1624 a law was made, which expelled from the province all thoſe inhabitants who did not belong to the church of England. The imperious law of neceſſity ſoon cauſed the revocation of this fatal decree: but a toleration ſo tardy, and which was evidently granted with reluctance, did not produce the great effects that were expected from it. A ſmall number only of Preſbyterians, Quakers, and French refugees, ventured to put any truſt in this repentance. The religion of Henry VIII. continued to be the prevailing one, and was almoſt excluſive.

In proceſs of time, however, men multiplied upon this ſoil, the fertility of which was daily increaſing in reputation. The paſſion for riches with which the Old Continent was more and more infected, gave citizens inceſſantly to this part of the New World. If the calculations of congreſs be not exaggerated, the population amounts to ſix hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls, including the ſlaves, whoſe number, according to the common opinion, amounts to one hundred and fifty thouſand. The Dutch firſt introduced theſe unfortunate people into the colony in 1620.

The labours of theſe white men, and of theſe Negroes, give to the two hemiſpheres, corn, maize, dry vegetables, iron, hemp, hides, furs, ſalt meats, tar, wood, maſts, and eſpecially tobacco, which is generally ſuperior to that of Maryland, though it be not equally excellent in every part of the province. The preference is given to that of York River; the ſecond beſt is reckoned to be that which grows along James's River, and that which grows on the borders of the Rappahanoc, and to the ſouth of the Potowmack, is the leaſt eſteemed.

From 1752 till the end of 1755, Great Britain received from Virginia and Maryland together, three million five hundred and one thouſand one hundred and ten quintals of tobacco, which made for each of the four years, eight hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand two hundred and fourſcore quintals. Virginia exported two million nine hundred and eighty-nine

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thouſand eight hundred quintals, which reduced its annual conſumption to one hundred and twenty-ſeven thouſand eight hundred and thirty quintals.

From the year 1763, till the end of 1770, the two colonies ſent to the mother-country no more than ſix million five hundred thouſand quintals of tobacco, or eight hundred and twelve thouſand five hundred quintals each of the eight years. No more was ſold to foreigners than five million one hundred and forty-eight thouſand quintals, or ſix hundred and forty-three thouſand five hundred quintals per annum; the nation therefore annually conſumed one hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand quintals.

In the interval between theſe two periods the importation, therefore, decreaſed annually, one year with another, ſixty-two thouſand ſeven hundred and fourſcore quintals, and the exportation one hundred and three thouſand nine hundred and fifty quintals; while the conſumption in England increaſed forty-one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy quintals every year.

The uſe of tobacco hath not decreaſed in Europe; the paſſion for this ſuperfluity hath even increaſed, notwithſtanding the heavy duties with which it hath been burdened by all governments. If the tobacco, furniſhed by North America be daily leſs ſought after among us, it is becauſe Holland, Alſatia, the Palatinate, and principally Ruſſia, have carried on this culture with great induſtry.

In 1769, Virginia and Maryland together ſold to the amount of 16,195,577 livres 4 ſols 7 deniers [about 674,815l. 14s. 4¼d.] of their productions. Two-thirds of this ſum belonged to the firſt of theſe ſettlements. Tobacco was the principal of theſe productions; ſince one of the colonies exported fifty-ſeven million three hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-five pounds weight of it; and the other, twenty-five million ſeven hundred and eighty-one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-nine pounds weight.

In Virginia, veſſels employed for the exportation of theſe productions do not find them collected in a ſmall

number of ſtaples, as in the other commercial ſtates of the globe. They are obliged to form their cargo by detail from the plantations themſelves, which are ſituated at a greater or leſs diſtance from the ocean, upon navigable rivers, of one or two hundred miles in length. This cuſtom fatigues the navigators, and makes their voyage tedious. Great Britain, which is always attentive to the preſervation of her ſeamen, and is particulary careful of leſſening the number of their voyages, wiſhed, and even ordered, that ſome towns ſhould be built at the mouth of the rivers, where the productions of the province might be ſent. But neither inſinuations, nor the conſtraint of the laws, were of any avail. A few ſmall villages only were built, which could ſcarce fulfil even the leaſt part of the views of the mother-country. Williamſburg itſelf hath no more than two thouſand inhabitants, though it be the reſidence of the governor, the place where the national aſſemblies and the courts of juſtice are holden, and where colleges are inſtituted; though it be decorated with the fineſt public edifices on the northern continent; and though it be the capital of the colony, ſince the ruin of James-town.

Men, who prefer the tranquillity of a rural life to the tumultuous abode of cities, ought naturally to be economical and laborious; but this was never the caſe in Virginia. Its inhabitants were always very expenſive in the furniture of their houſes; they were always fond of entertaining their neighbours with oſtentation. They always liked to diſplay the greateſt luxury before the Engliſh navigators, whom buſineſs brought to their plantations. They always gave themſelves up to that effeminacy, and to that negligence, ſo common in countries where ſlavery is eſtabliſhed. Accordingly, the engagements of the colony became habitually very conſiderable. At the beginning of the troubles, they were ſuppoſed to amount to 25,000,000 of livres [1,041,666l. 13s. 4d.]. This prodigious ſum was due to the merchants of Great Britain, for Negroes, or for other articles which they had furniſhed.

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The confidence of theſe bold lenders was particularly founded upon an unjuſt law, which ſecured their payment in preference to every other debt, though previouſly contracted.

The colony hath great powers to extricate itſelf from a ſituation apparently ſo deſperate. It will ſucceed, when more ſimplicity ſhall prevail in the manners, and more moderation in the expences; when availing itſelf of the reſources offered by an immenſe and fertile territory, it ſhall vary and improve its cultures; it will ſucceed, when it ſhall no longer receive from foreigners the moſt ordinary houſehold furniture, and that which is in moſt general uſe; when its manufactures ſhall no longer be confined to the employing of ſome ſmall quantities of cotton, which is of too indifferent a quality to be ſought for in the European manufactures; and when its public coffers, leſs plundered, and better regulated, ſhall admit of the diminution of the taxes, which are much more conſiderable in that province than in any other of this continent. Several of theſe counſels may concern the two Carolinas.

Origin of the two Carolinas. Their firſt and their laſt government, both civil and religious.

The vaſt country which theſe provinces occupy, was diſcovered by the Spaniards, ſoon after their firſt expeditions in the New World; they deſpiſed it, becauſe it did not offer any gold to their avarice. Admiral Coligny, more wiſe, and more able, opened there a ſource of induſtry to the French Proteſtants; but fanaticiſm, which purſued them, ruined their hopes by the aſſaſſination of this juſt, humane, and enlightened man. They were ſucceeded by a few Engliſhmen towards the end of the ſixteenth century; who by an inexplicable caprice forſook this infant ſettlement, to go and cultivate a harſher ſoil, under a leſs temperate climate.

There was not a ſingle European ſeen in Carolina, when the lords Berkley, Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven, Aſhley, and Meſſrs. Carteret, Berkley, and Colleton, obtained from Charles II. in 1663, a grant of this fine country. The plan of government for this

new colony was drawn up by the famous Locke. A philoſopher, who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and juſtice which ſhould be the only rule of their actions, ought to have deſtroyed the very foundations of that fanaticiſm, which in all countries hath excited diviſions among them, and which will induce them to take up arms againſt each other to the end of time. BOOK XVIII.

Intoleration, however horrid it may appear to us, is a neceſſary conſequence of the ſpirit of ſuperſtition. Will it not be acknowledged, that puniſhments ſhould be proportioned to the nature of offences? What crime then can be greater than that of infidelity, in the eyes of him who conſiders religion as the fundamental baſis of morality? According to theſe principles, the irreligious man is the common enemy of all ſociety; the breaker of the only tie that connects men with each other; the promoter of all the crimes that may eſcape the ſeverity of the laws. It is he who ſtifles every remorſe, who ſets the paſſions looſe from every reſtraint, and who keeps, as it were, a ſchool of wickedneſs. What! ſhall we lead to the gibbet an unfortunate man, whom indigence conceals upon the highway, who ruſhes out upon the traveller with a piſtol in his hand, and demands a ſmall pittance that may be neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of his wife and children, who may be expiring with miſery; and ſhall we pardon a robber infinitely more dangerous? We think meanly of the man who ſuffers his friend to be ill ſpoken of in his preſence; and ſhall we require that the religious man ſhall ſuffer the infidel to blaſpheme his Maſter, his Father, and his Creator with impunity? We muſt either admit that all faith is abſurd, or we muſt put up with intoleration as a neceſſary evil. Saint Lewis reaſoned very confidently when he ſaid to Joinville, *If thou ſhouldſt ever hear any one ſpeak ill of God, draw thy ſword and ſtab him through the heart; I allow thee to do it.* So important it is in all countries, as we are aſſured is the caſe in China, that ſovereigns, and the depoſitaries of their authority, ſhould not be attached

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to any tenet, to any ſect, nor to any form of religious worſhip.

Every thing induces us to imagine that ſuch was the opinion of Locke. But not daring to attack too openly the prejudices of the times, founded equally on virtues and vices, he wiſhed to conciliate them as much as could be conſiſtent with a principle dictated by reaſon and humanity. As the ſavage inhabitants of America, ſaid he, have no idea of a revelation, it would be the height of folly to torment them for their ignorance. Thoſe Chriſtians who ſhould come to people the colony, would undoubtedly come in queſt of a liberty of conſcience, which prieſts and princes deny them in Europe: it would therefore not be conſiſtent with good faith to perſecute, after having received them. The Jews and the Pagans did not more deſerve to be rejected, for an infatuation which mildneſs and perſuaſion might have put a ſtop to.

Thus it was that the Engliſh philoſopher reaſoned with men whoſe minds were imbued and prejudiced with tenets which it had not yet been allowed to diſcuſs. Out of regard to their weakneſs, he placed the ſyſtem of toleration which he was eſtabliſhing under the following reſtriction: that every perſon above ſeventeen years of age, who ſhould claim the protection of the laws, ſhould cauſe his name to be regiſtered in ſome communion. This was a breach made in his ſyſtem. The liberty of conſcience admits of no kind of modification. This is an account which man owes to God alone. In whatever manner the magiſtrate may be made to interfere in it, it is an act of injuſtice. A Deiſt could not poſſibly ſubſcribe to ſuch terms.

Civil liberty, however, was much leſs favoured by Locke. Whether this proceeded from motives of complaiſance for thoſe who employed him, a kind of meanneſs which we are averſe from ſuſpecting him of; or whether, being more of a metaphyſician than a ſtateſman, he had purſued philoſophy only in thoſe tracts which had been opened by Deſcartes and Leibnitz, it

is certain, that the ſame man who had diſſipated and deſtroyed ſo many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the paths of legiſlation. The author of a work, the permanency of which will render the glory of the French nation immortal, even when tyranny ſhall have broken all the ſprings, and all the monuments of the genius of a people eſteemed by the whole world for ſo many brilliant and amiable qualities; even Monteſquieu himſelf did not perceive that he was making men for governments, inſtead of governments for men.

The code of Carolina, by a ſingularity not to be accounted for in an Engliſhman and in a philoſopher, gave to the eight proprietors who founded the ſettlement, and to their heirs, not only all the rights of ſovereignty, but all the powers of legiſlation.

The firſt uſe theſe ſovereigns made of their authority was to create three orders of nobility. Thoſe to whom they gave no more than twelve thouſand acres of land were called barons; thoſe who received twenty-four thouſand were called caciques, and the title of landgrave was beſtowed on thoſe two who obtained fourſcore thouſand each. Theſe conceſſions could never be alienated in detail, and their fortunate poſſeſſors were alone to form the houſe of peers. The houſe of commons was compoſed of the repreſentatives of the towns and counties, but with privileges leſs conſiderable than in the mother-country. The aſſembly was called a court palatine. Every tenant was obliged to pay annually 1 livre 2 ſols 6 deniers [11¼d.] per acre, but he was allowed to redeem this duty.

The progreſs of this great ſettlement was for too long a time impeded by powerful obſtacles.

The colony had from its origin been open indiſcriminately to all ſects, which had all enjoyed the ſame privileges. It had been underſtood, that this was the only way to make an infant ſtate acquire rapid and great proſperity. The members of the church of England being afterwards jealous of the non-confor-

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miſts, wanted to exclude them from government, and even to oblige them to ſhut up the houſes where they performed divine ſervice. Theſe acts of folly and of violence were annulled in 1706 by the mother-country, as being contrary to humanity, to juſtice, to reaſon, and to policy. From the colliſion of theſe opinions aroſe cabals and tumults, which diverted the inhabitants from uſeful labours, and turned their attention to a multitude of abſurdities, which will be never ſo much deſpiſed as they deſerve to be.

Two wars, which were carried on againſt the ſavages, were almoſt as extravagant and as deſtructive of every improvement. All the wandering or fixed nations between the ocean and the Apalachian mountains, were attacked and maſſacred without any intereſt or motive; thoſe who eſcaped being put to the ſword, either ſubmitted or were diſperſed. In the meanwhile, a form of conſtitution ill-arranged, was the principal cauſe of an almoſt general indolence. The lords who were proprietors, imbued with deſpotic principles, uſed their utmoſt efforts to eſtabliſh an arbitrary government. The coloniſts, on the other hand, who were not ignorant of the rights of mankind, exerted themſelves with equal warmth to avoid ſervitude. It was neceſſary either to eſtabliſh a new order of things, or to ſuffer, that a vaſt country, from which ſuch great advantages had been expected, ſhould remain in perpetual humiliation, miſery, and anarchy. The Britiſh ſenate at length took the reſolution, in 1728, to reſtore this fine country to the nation, and to grant to its firſt maſters 540,000 livres [22,500l.] in compenſation. Granville alone, from motives which are unknown to us, was left in poſſeſſion of his eighth ſhare, which was ſituated on the confines of Virginia: but even this part was not long before it recovered its independence. The Engliſh government, as it was already eſtabliſhed in the other provinces of the New World, was ſubſtituted to the whimſical arrangement, which, in times of extreme corruption, had been extorted from an indolent and weak mo-

march by inſatiable favourites. The country might then expect to proſper. It was divided into two diſtinct governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to facilitate the adminiſtration of it.

Conformities between the two Carolinas.

The two countries united occupy more than four hundred thouſand miles upon the coaſt, and about two hundred thouſand miles in the inland parts. It is a plain, in general ſandy, which is rendered very marſhy by the overflowing of the rivers, and by heavy and frequent rains. The ſoil doth not begin to riſe, till at the diſtance of fourſcore or a hundred miles from the ſea; and it continues riſing as far as the Apalachian mountains. Upon theſe latitudes, and in the midſt of pine-trees, which are irregularly placed there by nature, a few ſheep, extremely degenerated, both in their fleſh and in their fleece, feed upon a ſtrong and coarſe graſs; there are alſo a number of horned cattle, who have not preſerved all their ſtrength and all their beauty; and an innumerable quantity of hogs, who appear to have improved.

The country is watered by a great number of rivers, ſome of which are navigable. They would be ſo for a longer ſpace, were it not for the rocks and the water-falls which interrupt the navigation.

Though the climate be as variable as the reſt of North America, it is commonly agreeably temperate. A piercing cold is never felt but in the evening and morning, and there are ſeldom any exceſſive heats. Though fogs be frequent, they are at leaſt diſpelled in the middle of the day. Unfortunately, in the months of July, Auguſt, September, and October, intermittent fevers prevail in the plains, and are ſometimes fatal to the natives themſelves, and, too often, deſtroy foreigners.

Such is the natural organization of the two Carolinas; let us ſee what diſtinguiſhes them from each other.

What diſtinguiſhes North Carolina.

North Carolina is one of the largeſt provinces of the continent; it unfortunately doth not offer advan-

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tages proportioned to its extent. Its ſoil is generally flatter, more ſandy, and more marſhy, than that of South Carolina. Theſe melancholy plains are covered with pines or cedars, which announce a barren ſoil; and are interſected at intervals by a ſmall number of oaks, too full of ſap to be employed in the conſtruction of ſhips. The coaſts, generally blocked up by a ſand bank, which keeps navigators at a diſtance, are not more favourable to population than the inland countries. Finally, the country is more expoſed than the neighbouring regions to the hurricanes that come from the ſouth-eaſt.

Theſe were undoubtedly the motives which prevented the Engliſh of North Carolina from ſettling there, though that country was the firſt which they diſcovered in the New World. None of the numerous people who were driven to that part of the hemiſphere, either from inclination or neceſſity, carried there their miſery or their reſtleſſneſs. It was long after, that a few vagabonds, without friends, without laws, and without plan to fix themſelves, ſettled there. But, in proceſs of time, the lands in the other colonies became ſcarce, and then men who were not able to purchaſe them, betook themſelves to a country where they could get lands without purchaſe. According to the account of congreſs, three hundred thouſand ſouls, in which few ſlaves are included, are ſtill found in the province. There are but few of theſe inhabitants which are either Engliſh, Iriſh, or German. Moſt of them are of Scotch origin, and for this reaſon:

Theſe Highlanders, whoſe character has been ſo boldly deſcribed by a maſterly hand, were never enſlaved either by the Romans, the Saxons, or the Danes. They bravely repulſed every invaſion, and no foreign cuſtoms could penetrate beyond the foot of their inacceſſible habitations. Separated from the reſt of the globe, they diſplayed in their manners the politeneſs of courts, without having any of their vices; their countenance ſhowed the pride with which the nobility of their origin had inſpired them; and they

were poſſeſſed of all the delicacy of our point of ho- BOOK
nour, but without its ſuſpicious minutiæ. As induſtry XVIII.
had not transformed them into mere machines, and as the nature of their ſoil and climate did not require the labours of the fields for more than two ſeaſons in the year, they had a great deal of leiſure time, which they employed in war, in hunting, in dancing, or in converſations animated by picturesque expreſſions, and original ideas. Moſt of them were muſicians. Schools were every where opened for the inſtruction of youth. Under every roof was found one hiſtorian, to recal to their minds great events, and a poet to celebrate them. The lakes, the foreſts, the caves, the cataracts, the majeſtic grandeur of all the objects that ſurrounded them, inſpired them with an elevation of mind, caſt a ſhade of melancholy over their characters, and kept up in their hearts a ſacred enthuſiaſm. Theſe people eſteemed themſelves, without deſpiſing other nations. Their aſpect ſtruck the civilized man with awe, in whom they only beheld one of their equals, whatever title he might be decorated with. They received all foreigners who came to them with a ſimple and cordial affection. They kept a long time in their memory a reſentment for any injury offered to any of them; which was rendered common to them all by the ties of blood. After an engagement they dreſſed their enemies wounds before their own. As they were always armed, the habitual uſe of deſtructive weapons prevented them from having any fear of them. They believed in ſpirits; and if the lightning ſhone during the night, if thunder rolled over their heads, if the ſtorm rooted up the trees around their houſes, or ſhook their roofs, they imagined that it was ſome forgotten hero reproaching them for their ſilence: they then took up their inſtruments, and ſang a hymn to his honour; they aſſured him that his memory would never be forgotten among the children of men. They believed in preſages and in divination. They all ſubmitted to the eſtabliſhed form of worſhip; ſuperſtition

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never excited quarrels among them, nor cauſed the effuſion of one drop of blood.

Theſe manners were never altered; nor could they be ſo. The Scotch formed a great number of tribes, called *clans*; each of which bore a different name, and lived upon the eſtate of ſome particular lord. It was the hereditary patriarch of a family, from whom they all claimed their deſcent, and they all knew to what degree.

The caſtle was in ſome meaſure a common property, where every perſon was ſure of meeting with an honourable reception, and where they all reſorted upon the firſt rumour of war. They all revered their own dignity in their chief; they had a brotherly affection for the other members of the confederation. They all patiently ſupported their fate, becauſe it never had any thing humiliating in it. The head of the clan, on his ſide, was the common father of them all, as well from gratitude as from intereſt.

This order of things ſubſiſted during a long ſeries of ages without the leaſt alteration. At laſt the noblemen contracted the habit of ſpending a great part of their lives in travelling, at London, or at court. Theſe repeated abſences detached from them their vaſſals, who ſaw them leſs frequently, and were no longer aſſiſted by them. Theſe men, who were no longer reſtrained by any tie of affection in their barren and ſavage mountains, then diſperſed themſelves. Several of them went in ſearch of another country in divers provinces of America. The greateſt number took refuge in North Carolina.

Theſe coloniſts are ſeldom aſſembled together, and they are therefore the leaſt informed of the Americans, and the moſt indifferent to the public intereſt. Moſt of them live diſperſed upon their plantations, without ambition or foreſight. They are but little inclined to labour, and they are ſeldom good planters. Though they have the Engliſh form of government, the laws have very little force among them. Their domeſtic

are better than their ſocial manners; and there is ſcarce an inſtance of any one of them having had any connection with a ſlave. Their food conſiſts of pork, milk, and maize; and they can be accuſed of no other kind of intemperance than an inordinate paſſion for ſpirituous liquors.

The firſt unfortunate people whom chance diſperſed along theſe ſavage coaſts confined themſelves to the cutting of wood, which they delivered to the navigators, who came to purchaſe it. In a ſhort time they collected from the pine tree, which covered the country, turpentine, tar, and pitch. To collect the turpentine, it was ſufficient to make inciſions in the trunk of the tree, which being carried on to the foot of it, terminated in veſſels placed there to receive it. When they wanted tar, they raiſed a circular platform of potter's earth, on which they laid piles of pines; to theſe they ſet fire, and the reſin diſtilled from them into caſks placed underneath. The tar was converted into pitch, either in great iron pots, in which they boiled it, or in pits formed of potter's earth, into which it was poured while in a fluid ſtate. In proceſs of time, the province was enabled to furniſh Europe with hides, a ſmall quantity of wax, a few furs, ten or twelve millions weight of an inferior kind of tobacco; and the Weſt Indies, with a great quantity of ſalt pork, maize, dried vegetables, a ſmall quantity of indifferent flour, and ſeveral objects of leſs importance. The exportations of the colony did not, however, exceed twelve or fifteen hundred thouſand livres [from 50,000l. to 62,500l.].

North Carolina hath not yet attended to the exportation of its own productions. What its ſoil furniſhes to the New Hemiſphere, hath been hitherto taken away by the navigators of the North of America, who brought in exchange rum, of which it hath ſtill continued to make an immenſe conſumption. The articles which the colony delivers to the Old World, have paſſed through the hands of the Engliſh, who ſupplied

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it with clothes, inſtruments for agriculture, and ſome Negroes.

Through the whole extent of the coaſts, there is no port but that of Brunſwick, which can receive the veſſels deſtined for thoſe tranſactions. Thoſe which draw no more than ſixteen feet water anchor at that town, which is built almoſt at the mouth of the river of Cape Fear, towards the ſouthern extremity of the province. Wilmington, its capital, ſituated higher up upon the ſame river, admits only much ſmaller veſſels.

What diſtinguiſhes South Carolina.

South Carolina furniſhes to the trade of both hemiſpheres as North Carolina, but in leſs quantity. Its labours have been chiefly turned towards rice and indigo.

Rice is a plant very much reſembling wheat in ſhape and colour, and in the figure and diſpoſition of its leaves. The panicle which terminates the ſtem is compoſed of ſmall flowers, diſtinct from each other, which have four unequal ſcales, ſix ſtamina, and one piſtil, ſurrounded with two ſtyles. This piſtil becomes a white ſeed, extremely farinaceous, covered with two interior ſcales, which are larger, yellowiſh, covered with light aſperities, and furniſhed with ſeveral ſalient coſtæ, the middle one of which terminates in an elongated extremity. This plant thrives only in low, damp, and marſhy lands, when they are even a little overflowed. The period of its diſcovery is traced to the remoteſt antiquity.

Egypt, unfortunately for itſelf, firſt attended to it. The pernicious effect of this culture rendered the country the moſt unhealthy in the known world; conſtantly ravaged by epidemical diſorders, and afflicted with cutaneous diſeaſes, which paſſed from that region to the others, where they have been perpetuated during whole centuries, and where they have only been put a ſtop to by the contrary cauſe to that which had occaſioned them, to wit, the drying up of the marſhes, and the reſtoring of ſalubrity to the air and to the waters. China and the Eaſt Indies muſt

experience the ſame calamities, if art doth not oppoſe preſervatives to nature, whoſe benefits are ſometimes accompanied with evils, or if the heat of the torrid zone doth not quickly diſpel the damp and malignant vapours which are exhaled from the rice grounds. It is a known fact, that in the rice grounds of the Milaneſe, the cultivators are all livid and dropſical.

Opinions differ about the manner in which rice hath been naturalized in Carolina. But whether the province may have acquired it by a ſhipwreck, or whether it may have been carried there with ſlaves, or whether it be ſent from England, it is certain that the ſoil ſeemed favourable for it. It multiplied, however, very ſlowly, becauſe the coloniſts, who were obliged to ſend their harveſts into the ports of the mother-country, by which they were ſent into Spain and Portugal, where they were conſumed, acquired ſo ſmall a profit from their productions, that it was ſcarcely ſufficient to defray the expences of cultivation. In 1730, a more enlightened adminiſtration permitted the direct exportation of this grain beyond Cape Finiſterre. Some years afterwards it was allowed to be carried to the Weſt Indies; and then the provinces, being ſure of ſelling the good rice advantageouſly in Europe, and the inferior or ſpoiled rice in America, attended ſeriouſly to the cultivation of it. This production grows, by the care of the Negroes, in the moraſſes which are near the coaſts. At a great diſtance from the ocean, indigo is cultivated by the ſame hands, but with leſs danger.

This plant, which originally comes from Indoſtan, ſucceeded at firſt at Mexico, afterwards at the Antilles, and laſtly in South Carolina. The firſt experiments made in this province yielded only a produce of an exceedingly inferior quality; but this dye acquires daily a greater degree of perfection. Its cultivators do not even deſpair of ſupplanting, in time, the Spaniards and the French in all the markets. Their hopes are founded upon the extent of their ſoil, upon

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the abundance and the cheapneſs of ſubſiſtence, and eſpecially upon the cuſtom which they have of ploughing their grounds with animals, and of ſowing the indigo in them in the ſame manner as corn; while, on the contrary, in the Weſt Indies they are the ſlaves who prepare the grounds, and who throw the ſeed into holes, diſpoſed at different diſtances to receive it.

If, contrary to all probability, this revolution in trade ſhould ever happen, South Carolina, which at preſent reckons two hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, half white people and half Negroes, and the exportations of which, including thoſe of North Carolina, amounted, in the year 1769, to 10,601,336 livres [44,722l. 6s. 8d.], would ſoon double its population and its cultures. It is already the richeſt of all the provinces of the northern continent. Accordingly, the taſte for the conveniencies of life is generally prevalent, and the expences are carried as far as luxury. This magnificence was more particularly remarked ſome time ago in the funerals. As many citizens as it was poſſible to collect were aſſembled at them; expenſive diſhes were ſerved up, and the moſt exquiſite wines and the ſcarceſt liquors were laviſhed. To the plate which the family had, was added that of the relations, the neighbours, and the friends. It was common to ſee fortunes either much encroached upon, or even deranged, by theſe obſequies. The ſanguinary and ruinous conteſts between the mother-country and the colonies have put a ſtop to theſe profuſions, but without aboliſhing a cuſtom perhaps ſtill more extravagant.

From the origin of the ſettlement, the miniſters of religion adopted the cuſtom of pronouncing indiſcriminately, in the churches, an eulogium upon every one of their flock after death. The praiſe was never in proportion to the actions and virtues of the deceaſed, but to the greater or leſs reward which they were to receive for the funeral oration. So that while, in our countries, the Catholic prieſts were making a traf-

fic of prayer, the clergy of the church of England were carrying on, in the other hemiſphere, the more odious traffic of the praiſes of the dead. BOOK XVIII.

Could there be a more effectual method of degrading virtue, of diminiſhing the horror of vice, and of corrupting in men's minds the true notions of each? Could there be any thing more ſcandalous to a whole Chriſtian audience, than the impudence of an orator, of a preacher of the goſpel extolling a citizen who had been abhorred for his avarice, his cruelty, and his debauchery; a bad father, an ungrateful ſon, or married perſons who had led a life of diſſoluteneſs; and placing in heaven thoſe whom the Almighty Judge had precipitated into the depth of the infernal regions?

South Carolina hath only three cities worthy of being called ſo; and theſe are alſo ports.

George Town, ſituated at the mouth of the Black River, is ſtill very inconſiderable; but its ſituation muſt render it one day more important.

Beaufort, or Port Royal, will never emerge from a ſtate of mediocrity, though its road be capable of receiving and ſecuring the largeſt ſhips.

It is Charleſtown, the capital of the colony, which is at preſent the moſt important ſtaple, and which muſt neceſſarily become ſtill more ſo.

The channel which leads up to it is full of breakers, and embarraſſed with a ſand-bank: but with the aſſiſtance of a good pilot, a ſhip arrives ſafely in the harbour. It can receive three hundred ſail; and ſhips of three hundred and fifty or four hundred tons burden can enter it at all times, with their entire cargo.

The town occupies a great ſpace, at the confluence of the two navigable rivers, Aſhley and Cooper. Its ſtreets are very regular, and moſt of them large; it hath two thouſand convenient houſes, and a few public buildings, which would be reckoned handſome even in Europe. The double advantage which Charleſtown enjoys, of being the ſtaple for the productions of the colony which are to be exported, and of all the foreign merchandiſe that can be conſumed there, keeps

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up a conſtant activity in it, and hath ſucceſſively been the cauſe of making ſome conſiderable fortunes.

The two Carolinas are ſtill very far from attaining to that degree of ſplendour to which they have a right to aſpire. North Carolina doth not cultivate all the productions of which its ſoil is ſuſceptible, and thoſe which it ſeems to attend a little to are in a manner left to chance. The inhabitants of South Carolina are more intelligent and more active: but they have not yet found out, at leaſt not ſufficiently, how far they might improve their fortune by the culture of the above tree, and of ſilk. Neither of theſe provinces have cleared one quarter of their territory which may be uſefully employed. This labour is reſerved for future generations, and for an increaſe of population. Then, undoubtedly, ſome kind of induſtry will be eſtabliſhed in provinces, where there would not exiſt the leaſt appearance of any, if the French refugees had not brought a linen manufactory to them.

By whom, upon what occaſion, and in what manner, Georgia was founded.

Between Carolina and Florida, there is a ſlip of land, which extends ſixty miles along the ſea-ſide, which acquires, by degrees, a breadth of one hundred and fifty miles, and hath three hundred miles in depth, as far as the Apalachian mountains. This country is limited on the North by the Savannah river, and to the South by the river Alatamaha.

The Engliſh miniſtry had been long deſirous of erecting a colony on this tract of country, that was conſidered as dependent upon Carolina. One of thoſe inſtances of benevolence, which liberty, the ſource of every patriotic virtue, renders more frequent in England than in any other country, ſerved to determine the views of government with regard to this place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of his eſtate to ſet at liberty ſuch inſolvent debtors as were detained in priſon by their creditors. Where ſhall we find, either in France or in other parts, any perſon who ſhall thus propoſe to expiate a long abuſe of proſperity? Several will die, after having ſquandered away millions, without being able to recollect

one good action they have done. Several will die, and will leave behind them, to heirs who are anxious for their death, treaſures acquired by uſury and concuſſion, without repairing, by ſome honourable and uſeful inſtitution, the crime of their opulence. Is it then one of the neceſſary effects of gold, to harden the heart to the laſt, and to ſtifle remorſe; ſince there is ſcarce any man who hath known how to make a good uſe of it during his life; ſcarce any man who has employed it in procuring tranquillity to himſelf in his laſt moments? Prudential reaſons of policy concurred in the performance of this will dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that ſuch unhappy priſoners as were releaſed ſhould be tranſplanted into that deſert country, that was now intended to be peopled. It was named Georgia, in honour of the reigning ſovereign. BOOK XVIII.

This inſtance of reſpect, the more pleaſing, as it was not the effect of flattery; and the execution of a deſign of ſo much real advantage to the ſtate, were entirely the work of the nation. The parliament added 225,000 livres [9375l.] to the eſtate left by the will of the citizen; and a voluntary ſubſcription produced a much more conſiderable ſum. General Oglethorpe, a man who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the houſe of commons by his taſte for great deſigns, by his zeal for his country, and his paſſion for glory, was fixed upon to direct theſe public finances, and to carry into execution ſo excellent a project. Deſirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired, he choſe to conduct himſelf the firſt coloniſts that were ſent to Georgia; where he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his people on a ſpot ten miles diſtant from the ſea, in an agreeable and fertile plain on the banks of the Savannah. The river gave its name to this feeble ſettlement, which might one day become the capital of a flouriſhing colony. It conſiſted at firſt of no more than one hundred perſons; but before the end of the year the number was increaſed to ſix hundred and eighteen, of whom one hundred and twenty-ſeven had

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emigrated at their own expence. Three hundred men, and one hundred and thirteen women, one hundred and two lads, and eighty-three girls, formed the beginning of this new population, and the hopes of a numerous poſterity.

This ſettlement was increaſed in 1735 by the arrival of ſome Scotch Highlanders. Their national courage induced them to accept an eſtabliſhment offered them upon the borders of the Alatamaha, to defend the colony, if neceſſary, againſt the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the town of Darien, five leagues diſtant from the iſland of St. Simon, where the hamlet of Frederica was already eſtabliſhed.

In the ſame year, a great number of Proteſtants, driven out of Saltzburg by a fanatical prieſt, embarked for Georgia, to enjoy peace and liberty of conſcience. Ebenezer, ſituated upon the river Savannah, ſixteen leagues from the ocean, owed its riſe to theſe victims of an odious ſuperſtition.

Some Switzers followed the example of theſe wiſe Saltzburghers, though they had not, like them, been perſecuted. They alſo ſettled on the bank of the Savannah, but three leagues lower, and upon a ſpot which ſubjected them to the laws of Carolina. Their colony, conſiſting of a hundred habitations, was named Puryſburg, from Pury their founder, who having been at the expence of their ſettlement, was deſervedly choſen their chief, in teſtimony of their gratitude to him.

In theſe four or five colonies, ſome men were found more inclined to trade than agriculture. Theſe, therefore, ſeparated from the reſt, in order to build the city of Auguſta, one hundred and forty-five miles diſtant from the ocean. The goodneſs of the ſoil was not the object they had in view; but they wiſhed to ſhare with Virginia and the Carolinas the peltries which theſe provinces obtained from the Creeks, the Chickaſaws, and the Cherokees, which were the moſt numerous ſavage nations of this continent. Their project was ſo ſucceſsful, that as early as the year 1739, ſix hundred people were employed in this commerce. The ſale of

theſe furs was with much greater facility carried on, from the circumſtance of the Savannah admitting, during the greateſt part of the year, ſhips from twenty to thirty tons burden as far as the walls of Auguſta.

The mother-country ought, one would imagine, to have formed great expectations from a colony which had received, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, five thouſand inhabitants, which had coſt the treaſury 1,485,000 livres [61,875l.], and the zealous patriots a great deal more. What muſt not, therefore, have been their aſtoniſhment, when, in 1741, they were informed, that moſt of the unfortu..te people who had ſought an aſylum in Georgia hac ucceſſively withdrawn themſelves from it; and that the few who remained there ſeemed only deſirous to fix in a leſs inſupportable ſpot? The reaſons of this ſingular event were inquired into, and diſcovered.

Impediments that have prevented the progreſs of Georgia.

This colony, even in its origin, brought with it the ſeeds of its decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been ceded to individuals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent ſcheme; but nations, any more than individuals, do not learn inſtruction from their paſt miſconduct. Facts are generally unknown; and if they ſhould not be, ſtill bad conſequences are imputed to unable predeceſſors, or elſe ſome trifling difference in circumſtances, or in ſome frivolous precautions, afford a pretence for giving a falſe colouring to meaſures that are faulty in themſelves. Hence it happens, that an enlightened government, though checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard againſt every miſuſe of its confidence. The Engliſh miniſtry, therefore, ſacrificed the public intereſt to the rapacious views of intereſted individuals.

The firſt uſe which the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were inveſted with, was to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of legiſlation, that made them entirely maſters, not only of the police, juſtice, and finances of the country, but even of the lives and eſtates of its inhabitants. Every ſpecies of right was with-

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drawn from the people, who are the original poſſeſſors of every right. Obedience was required of them, though contrary to their intereſt and knowledge; and it was conſidered as their duty and their fate.

As great inconveniences had been found to ariſe in other colonies from large poſſeſſions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty acres of land at firſt, and never more than five hundred, which they were not permitted to mortgage, or even to diſpoſe of by will to their female iſſue. This laſt regulation, of making only the male iſſue capable of inheritance, was ſoon aboliſhed; but there ſtill remained too many obſtacles to excite a ſpirit of emulation.

When a man is neither purſued by the laws, nor driven away to avoid ignominy, nor tormented by religious tyranny, by the perſecutions of his creditors, by ſhame or miſery, or by the want of every kind of reſource in his own country, he doth not renounce his relations, his friends, and his fellow-citizens; he doth not baniſh himſelf, he doth not croſs the ſeas, he doth not go in ſearch of a diſtant land, unleſs he be attracted there by hopes which are more powerful than the allurements of his native ſoil, than the value he ſets upon his exiſtence, and the dangers to which he expoſes himſelf. To go on board of ſhip, in order to be landed on an unknown region, is the act of a deſperate man, unleſs the imagination be influenced by the proſpect of ſome great happineſs; a proſpect which the leaſt alarm will diſſipate. If the vague and unlimited confidence the emigrant hath in his induſtry, in which his whole fortune conſiſts, be ſhaken by any means whatever, he will remain upon the ſhore. Such muſt neceſſarily have been the effect of the boundaries aſſigned to every plantation. Several other errors ſtill affected the original plan of this country, and prevented its increaſe.

The taxes impoſed upon the moſt fertile of the Engliſh colonies are very inconſiderable, and even theſe are not levied till the ſettlements have acquired ſome degree of vigour and proſperity. From its infant ſtate,

Georgia had been ſubjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it had been, as it were, fettered. The revenues raiſed by this kind of ſervice muſt have increaſed beyond meaſure in proceſs of time. The founders of it, blinded by a ſpirit of avidity, did not perceive, that the ſmalleſt duty impoſed upon a populous and flouriſhing province would much ſooner enrich them, than the heavieſt taxes laid upon a barren and uncultivated country.

To this ſpecies of oppreſſion was added an arrangement which became a freſh cauſe of inactivity. The diſorders which were the conſequence of the uſe of ſpirituous liquors throughout all the continent of North America, occaſioned the importation of rum to be prohibited in Georgia. This prohibition, however laudable the motive for it might be, deprived the coloniſts of the only drink which could correct the bad effects of the water of the country, which they found everywhere unhealthy, and of the only means they had of repairing their ſtrength, exhauſted by continual perſpiration. It alſo ſecluded them from the trade of the Weſt Indies, where they were no more allowed to exchange for theſe liquors the wood, the ſeeds, and the cattle, which ought to have conſtituted their firſt riches.

Weak as theſe reſources were, they muſt have increaſed very ſlowly, on account of a prohibition which would deſerve recommendation, had it been dictated by a ſentiment of humanity, and not by policy. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the uſe of ſlaves. Other colonies having been eſtabliſhed without their aſſiſtance, it was thought that a country, deſtined to be the bulwark of thoſe poſſeſſions, ought not to be peopled by a ſet of ſlaves, who could not be in the leaſt intereſted in the defence of their oppreſſors. But would this prohibition have taken place, had it been foreſeen that coloniſts, who were leſs favoured by the mother-country than their neighbours, who were ſituated in a country leſs ſuſceptible of culture, and in a hotter climate, would want ſtrength and ſpirit to un-

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dertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement?

The demands of the people, and the refuſals of the government, may be equally extravagant. The people liſten only to their wants, and ſovereigns conſult only their perſonal intereſt. The former, commonly very indifferent, eſpecially in diſtant countries, with reſpect to the powers to which they belong, and thoſe which they may receive by an invaſion, neglect their political ſecurity, in order to attend only to their perſonal welfare. The latter, on the contrary, will never heſitate between the felicity of the people, and the ſolidity of their poſſeſſions; and will always prefer a ſteady and permanent authority over a ſet of miſerable beings, to an uncertain and precarious ſway over men who are happy. Their miſtruſt, which a long ſeries of vexations hath too well juſtified, will induce them to conſider the people as ſlaves, ever ready to eſcape from them by revolt or by flight; and it will not enter into the thoughts of any one of them, that this habitual ſentiment of hatred, which they ſuppoſe to exiſt againſt them becauſe they have deſerved it, and which is but too real, would be extinguiſhed, if they could experience a few years of a mild and paternal adminiſtration: for nothing is alienated with ſo much difficulty as the affection of the people. It is founded on the advantages rarely felt, but always acknowledged, of a ſupreme authority, whatever it may be, which directs, which is watchful, which protects, and which defends. For the ſame reaſon, nothing is more eaſily recovered, when alienated. The deluſive hope of a change for the better is alone ſufficient to quiet our imaginatation, and to prolong our miſeries without end. What I here advance is confirmed by the almoſt univerſal example of the whole world. At the death of a tyrant all nations flatter themſelves with the hopes of a king. The tyrants continue their ſyſtem of oppreſſion, and die in peace;—and the people ſtill continue to groan under it, and to expect with patience a king who never ap-

pears. The ſucceſſor, educated as his father or his grandfather, is prepared from his infancy to model himſelf after their example, unleſs he ſhould have received from nature a ſtrength of genius, a firmneſs of ſoul, a rectitude of judgment, and a fund of benevolence and equity, which may correct the defect of his education. Without this fortunate diſpoſition, he will not inquire, in any circumſtance, what is proper to be done, but what hath been done before him. He will not aſk what is moſt ſuitable to the good of his ſubjects, whom he will conſider as his neareſt enemies, on account of the parade of guards that ſurround him; but he will ſtudy what will increaſe his deſpotiſm and their ſervitude. He will remain ignorant during life of the moſt ſimple and moſt evident of truths; which is, that their ſtrength and his are inſeparable from each other. The example of the paſt will be his only rule of conduct, both on thoſe occaſions when it may be prudent to follow it, and on thoſe it would be proper to deviate from it. The meaſure which the miniſtry will adopt in politics, will always be that which ſhall be moſt analogous to the ſpirit of tyranny, the only one which has been decorated with the title of the great art of governing. When, therefore, the inhabitants of Georgia aſked for ſlaves, in order to know whether they ſhould have been granted or refuſed to them, it was only neceſſary to examine whether they were required for the better cultivation of the lands, and the greater ſecurity of the property of the colony.

In the meanwhile, the truly deſperate ſituation of the new ſettlement proclaimed too forcibly the imprudence of the miniſtry, to make it poſſible to perſevere in ſuch fatal meaſures. At length the province received the ſame form of government which made the other colonies proſper. When it ceaſed to be a fief belonging to individuals, it became a truly national poſſeſſion.

Since this fortunate revolution, Georgia hath improved conſiderably, though not ſo rapidly as was expected. It is true, that neither the vine, the olive- Situation and expectations of Georgia.

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tree, nor ſilk, have been cultivated, as the mother-country wiſhed; but its marſhes have furniſhed a tolerable quantity of rice; and indigo, ſuperior in quality to that of Carolina, hath been produced upon the higher grounds. Before the 1ſt January 1768, a grant had been made of ſix hundred thirty-ſeven thouſand one hundred and ſeventy acres of land. Thoſe which, in 1763, were worth no more than 3 livres 7 ſols 6 deniers [2s. 9¼d.], were ſold in 1776 for 67 livres 10 ſols [2l. 16s. 3d.]. In 1769, the exportations of the colony amounted to 1,625,418 livres 9 ſols 5 deniers [about 67,725l. 15s. 4¼d.]; and ſince that time they have conſiderably increaſed.

This proſperity will undoubtedly be augmented. In proportion as the foreſts ſhall be felled, the air will become more ſalubrious, and the productions will increaſe with the population, which at preſent doth not exceed thirty thouſand men, moſt of whom are ſlaves. However, as the lands are not ſo extenſive in Georgia as in moſt of the other provinces, and that in the ſame proportion leſs of them are ſuſceptible of culture, the riches of that colony will always be limited. Let us ſee whether Florida hath a right to expect a more brilliant deſtiny.

Florida becomes a Spaniſh poſſeſſion.

Under this name the ambition of Spain comprehended formerly all that tract of land in America, which extended from the Gulf of Mexico to the moſt northern regions. But fortune, which ſports with the vanity of nations, hath long ſince confined this unlimited denomination to the peninſula formed by the ſea, between Georgia and Louiſiana.

It was Luke Velaſquès, whoſe memory ought to be holden in execration in this world, as he deſerves to be puniſhed in the next; it was that monſter, to whom I can ſcarce give the name of man, who firſt landed upon this region, with the intention of obtaining ſlaves either by ſtratagem or by force. The novelty of the ſpectacle attracted the neighbouring ſavages. They were invited to come on board the ſhips; they were intoxicated, put in irons, and the anchor was weighed,

while the guns were fired upon the reſt of the Indians, who remained upon the ſhore. Several of theſe unfortunate people, ſo cruelly torn from their own country, refuſed to take the food which was offered them, and periſhed from inanition. Others died of grief; and thoſe who ſurvived their deſpair, were buried in the mines of Mexico. BOOK XVIII.

Theſe inſatiable gulfs required more victims. The perfidious Velaſquès went in ſearch of them again in the ſame country. He was known, and half of his infamous companions were murdered on their arrival. Thoſe who fled from a juſtly implacable enemy, were ſhipwrecked; he himſelf only eſcaped the fury of the waves, to lead the remainder of his deteſted life in ſhame, miſery, and remorſe.

Spain had forgotten that part of the New World, when the memory of it was revived by a ſettlement made there by the French. The court of Madrid thought proper to drive from their rich poſſeſſions ſo active a nation; and they accordingly gave orders for the deſtruction of the infant colony. This command was put in execution in 1565; and the conquerors re-occupied the place, which was rendered an abſolute deſert by their cruelties. They were threatened with a lingering death, when they were relieved by the culture of ſaſſafras.

This tree, which is an evergreen, is peculiar to America, and is better at Florida than in any other part of that hemiſphere. It grows equally on the borders of the ſea and upon the mountains, but always in a ſoil which is neither too dry nor too damp. Its roots are even with the ſurface of the ground. Its trunk, which is very ſtraight, without leaves, and not high, is covered with a thick and dirty bark, of an aſh colour, and throws out at its ſummit ſome branches which ſpread out on the coaſts. The leaves are diſpoſed alternately, green on the upper, and white on the under ſurface, and are divided into three lobes. Sometimes they are found entire, eſpecially in young plants. The branches

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are terminated by clusters of small yellow flowers. They are of the same kind as those of the laurel or cinnamon tree. The fruits, which succeed, are small, blue, pendent berries, fixed to a red pedicle, and to a calix of the same colour.

Its flower is taken in infusion, as mullein and tea is. The decoction of its root is used with effect in intermittent fevers. The bark of the trunk hath an acrid and aromatic taste, and a smell similar to that of fennel and aniseed. The wood is whitish and less odoriferous. They are both used in medicine to promote perspiration, to attenuate thick and viscid humours, to remove obstructions, to cure the gout and the palsy. Sassafras was also formerly much prescribed in the venereal disease.

The first Spaniards who settled there would probably have fallen a sacrifice to this last disorder, at least they would not have recovered from those dangerous fevers with which most of them were attacked on their arrival in Florida, either in consequence of the food of the country, or of the badness of the waters. But the savages taught them, that by drinking fasting, and at their meals, water in which the root of sassafras had been boiled, they might depend upon a speedy recovery. The experiment upon trial proved successful.

What can be the reason that this medicine and so many others which produce extraordinary cures in those distant countries, seem to have lost almost all their efficacy when transplanted into ours? It must probably be owing to the climate being more favourable for perspiration, to the nature of the plant which degenerates and loses some part of its strength during a long voyage, and especially to the nature of the disease, when joined to our intemperate way of living; and the obstinacy of which increases from the numberless disorders prevailing in our constitutions.

The Spaniards established some small posts at San Matheo, at Saint Marc, and at Saint Joseph; but it

was only Saint Auguſtine and at Penſacola that they properly formed ſettlements; the former on their arrival in the country, and the latter in 1696. BOOK XVIII.

Penſacola was attacked and taken by the French during the ſhort conteſts which divided the two houſes of Bourbon in 1718; but it was ſoon reſtored.

In 1740, the Engliſh beſieged the former of theſe ſettlements in vain. The Scotch Highlanders, in endeavouring to cover the retreat of the aſſailants, were beaten and ſlain. One of their ſerjeants only was ſpared by the ſavage Indians, who, while they were fighting for the Spaniards, reſerved him to undergo thoſe torments which they inflict upon their priſoners. This man, it is ſaid, on ſeeing the horrid tortures that awaited him, addreſſed the blood-thirſty multitude in the following manner:

"Heroes and patriarchs of the weſtern world, you "were not the enemies that I fought for; but you "have at laſt been the conquerors. The chance of "war has thrown me in your power. Make what uſe "you think proper of the right of conqueſt. This is "a right I do not call in queſtion. But as it is cuſ"tomary in my country to offer a ranſom for one's "life, liſten to a propoſal not unworthy of your no"tice.

"Know then, valiant Americans, that in the coun"try of which I am a native, there are ſome men who "poſſeſs a ſuperior knowledge of the ſecrets of nature. "One of thoſe ſages, connected to me by the ties of "kindred, imparted to me, when I became a ſoldier, "a charm to make me invulnerable. You muſt have "obſerved how I have eſcaped all your darts. With"out ſuch a charm would it have been poſſible for me "to have ſurvived all the mortal blows you have aim"ed at me? For I appeal to your own valour, to teſ"tify that mine has ſufficienty exerted itſelf, and has "not avoided any danger. Life is not ſo much the ob"ject of my requeſt, as the glory of communicating "to you a ſecret of ſo much conſequence to your ſafe"ty, and of rendering the moſt valiant nation upon the

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"earth invincible. Suffer me only to have one of my "hands at liberty, in order to perform the ceremonies "of enchantment, of which I will now make trial "on myſelf before you."

The Indians liſtened with eagerneſs to this diſcourſe, which was flattering both to their warlike character, and their turn for the marvellous. After a ſhort conſultation, they untied one of the priſoner's arms. The Highlander begged that they would put his broad ſword into the hands of the moſt expert and ſtouteſt man among them; and at the ſame time laying bare his neck, after having rubbed it, and muttering ſome words accompanied with magic ſigns, he cried aloud with a cheerful countenance, "Obſerve now, O vali- "ant Indians, an inconteſtible proof of my honeſty. "Thou warrior, who now holdeſt my keen cutting "weapon, do thou now ſtrike with all thy ſtrength; "far from being able to ſever my head from my bo- "dy, thou wilt not even wound the ſkin of my neck."

He had ſcarcely ſpoken theſe words, when the Indian aiming the moſt violent blow, ſtruck off the head of the ſerjeant, to the diſtance of twenty feet. The ſavages aſtoniſhed, ſtood motionleſs, viewing the bloody corpſe of the ſtranger; and then turned their eyes upon one another, as if to reproach each other with their blind credulity. But admiring the artifice the priſoner had made uſe of to avoid the torture by haſtening his death, they beſtowed on his body the funeral honours of their country. If this fact, the date of which is too recent to admit of credit, has not all the marks of authenticity it ſhould have, it will only be one falſehood more to be added to the accounts of travellers.

Florida is ceded to Great Britain by the court of Madrid.

The treaty of peace of 1763, put in the power of Great Britain, that ſame Florida which had reſiſted the ſtrength of their arms twenty-three years before. At that time there were no more than ſix hundred inhabitants. It was with the ſale of their hides, and with the proviſions they furniſhed to their garriſon, that they were to provide themſelves with clothes,

and to ſupply a ſmall part of their wants, which were exceedingly confined. Theſe miſerable people went all to Cuba, though convinced that they would be obliged to beg their bread, if their monarch, moved with ſuch an inſtance of affection, did not provide for their ſubſiſtence.

What motive could induce the Spaniards to prefer an oppreſſive to a free government? Was it ſuperſtition, which cannot ſuffer the altars of the heretics near its own? Was it prejudice, which renders ſuſpicious the morals and the probity of thoſe who profeſs a different religion? Was it the fear of ſeduction for themſelves, and ſtill more for their children? Long accuſtomed to idleneſs, did they imagine that they ſhould be compelled to labour? Or hath man ſo bad an opinion of man, that he ſhould rather chooſe to diſpoſe of himſelf and his fate, than to abandon it to the mercy of his fellow-creature? However it may be, nothing but a deſert remained to the power that obtained the poſſeſſion; but was it not an acquiſition to loſe inhabitants not inured to fatigue, and who would never have been well affected?

Great Britain congratulated itſelf upon the acquiſition of the property of an immenſe province, the limits of which were ſtill extended as far as the Miſſiſſippi, by the ceſſion of one part of Louiſiana. That power had for a long time been deſirous of ſettling on a territory which would open an eaſy communication to them with the richeſt of the Spaniſh colonies. They did not give up the hopes of a ſmuggling trade, but they were aware that this precarious and momentary advantage was not ſufficient to render their conqueſts flouriſhing, and they turned their labours and expectations principally towards cultivation.

What hath been done by England, and what ſhe may expect to do in Florida.

The new acquiſition was divided into two governments. It was thought that this would be a powerful inducement to carry on with greater zeal, and to direct with more vigour, the cultivation of the lands. Miniſtry might alſo have determined upon this divi-

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ſion, in expectation of always finding more ſubmiſſion in two ſeparate provinces than in one alone.

Saint Auguſtine became the capital of Eaſt Florida, and Penſacola of Weſt Florida. Theſe capitals, which were at the ſame time tolerable good harbours, did not undoubtedly unite all the conveniences they were ſuſceptible of; but it was ſtill a very fortunate circumſtance to find thoſe which they really did poſſeſs. The other colonies did not enjoy this advantage at their origin.

The firſt coloniſts who ſettled in theſe countries were half-pay officers and diſbanded ſoldiers. All thoſe among them who had ſerved in America and were ſettled there, obtained the grant of a piece of land proportionable to their rank. This favour was not extended to all the army that had fought in the New World. It would have been apprehended, that the military men of the three kingdoms who were in the ſame ſituation, might be tempted to forſake the mother-country, already too much exhauſted by the laſt hoſtilities.

The new colony received alſo cultivators from the neighbouring ſettlements, from the mother-country, and from ſeveral Proteſtant ſtates. It alſo obtained ſome, whoſe arrival was a matter of aſtoniſhment to both hemiſpheres.

The Greeks groan under the Ottoman tyranny, and muſt be inclined to ſhake off this deteſted yoke. This was the opinion of Dr. Turnbull, when, in 1767, he went to offer an aſylum in Britiſh America to the inhabitants of the Peloponneſus. Several of them yielded to his ſolicitations; and for the ſum of one hundred guineas he obtained leave from the government of the place to embark them at Modon. He landed in Corſica and at Minorca, and prevailed alſo upon ſome of the inhabitants of thoſe two iſlands to follow him.

The emigrants, to the number of a thouſand, arrived in Eaſt Florida with their prudent conductor, where ſixty thouſand acres of land were granted to them.

This would have been an immenſe poſſeſſion, even if the climate had not deſtroyed any of them; but they had unfortunately been ſo much thwarted by the winds as to prevent their landing before ſummer, which is a dangerous ſeaſon, and which deſtroyed one quarter of their number. They were moſtly the old people who periſhed. They were numerous, becauſe the judicious Turnbull choſe to carry none with him but whole families.

"Thoſe who eſcaped this firſt diſaſter have ſince enjoyed perfect health, which has only been affected by a few fevers. The men are become ſtronger in their conſtitutions, and the women, who, on account of the change of climate, did not breed often at firſt, are at preſent very fruitful. It is preſumed that the children will be taller than they would have been in the country from whence their parents came.

The ſmall colony have received from their founder inſtitutions, which they have themſelves approved, and which are obſerved. They are ſtill no more than one entire family, where the ſpirit of concord muſt be kept up for a long time. On the firſt of January 1776, they had already cleared two thouſand three hundred acres of a tolerably fertile ſoil. They had animals ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence and for their labour. Their crops were ſufficient for their own conſumption, and they ſold 67,500 livres [2812l. 10s.] worth of indigo. The induſtry and activity by which they are diſtinguiſhed, give great expectations from time and experience."

Why ſhould not Athens and Lacedemon be one day revived in North America? Why ſhould not the city of Turnbull become in a few centuries the reſidence of politeneſs, of the fine arts, and of eloquence? The new colony is leſs diſtant from this flouriſhing ſtate than were the barbarous Pelaſgians from the fellow-citizens of Pericles. What difference there is between a ſettlement conceived and founded by a wiſe and pacific man, and the conqueſts of a long ſeries of avaricious, extravagant, and ſanguinary men; between

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the preſent ſtate of South America and what it might have been, had thoſe who diſcovered it, took poſſeſſion of it and laid it waſte, been animated with the ſame ſpirit as the worthy Turnbull? Will not nations learn by his example, that the foundation of a colony requires more wiſdom than expence? The univerſe hath been peopled by one man and one woman only.

The two Floridas, which in 1769 did not export productions to the amount of more than 673,209 livres 18 ſols 9 deniers [about 28,045l. 8s. 3½d.], have a remarkable advantage over the reſt of this great continent. Situated in a great meaſure between two ſeas, they have nothing to fear from the frozen winds, nor from the unforeſeen variations in the temperature of the air, which at all ſeaſons occaſion ſuch frequent and fatal devaſtations in the neighbourhood. It is therefore to be hoped that the vine, the olive, the cotton tree, and other delicate plants, will proſper there ſooner and better than in any of the adjacent provinces. In 1774, the ſociety inſtituted in London for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and ſciences, gave a gold medal to Mr. Strachey, for his having produced as fine indigo as that which comes from Guatimala. Although, in the firſt paroxyſms of enthuſiaſm, the qualities of this production have been but moderately attended to, yet it will become a ſource of riches for the colony.

The ſoil of Eaſt Florida, however, being a great deal too ſandy, conſtantly drove away all men who were deſirous of making a rapid fortune. It would ſcarce have been peopled, except by ſome extraordinary event. The troubles with which North America hath been agitated, have driven to that commonly barren ſoil a few peaceful citizens, who had a ſettled averſion for diſputes, and a ſtill greater number of men, who, either from ambition, habit, or prejudice, were devoted to the intereſt of the mother-country.

The ſame inducements have given coloniſts to the other Florida, which is much more fertile, eſpecially on the pleaſant borders of the Miſſiſſippi. This pro-

vince hath had the advantage to furniſh Jamaica, and several of the Britiſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies, with wood, and with various articles, which they formerly received from the ſeveral countries of New England. This population would have been ſtill more rapid if the coaſts of Penſacola had been more acceſſible, and if its harbours had been leſs infeſted with worms. How greatly might the improvements of the two provinces be accelerated, if the new ſovereigns of North America would depart from the maxims they have uniformly purſued, and would condeſcend to intermarriages with Indian families! And for what reaſon ſhould this method of civilizing the ſavage tribes, which has been ſo ſucceſsfully employed by the moſt enlightened politicians, be rejected by a free people, who, from their principles, muſt admit a greater equality than other nations? Would the Engliſh then be ſtill reduced to the cruel alternative of ſeeing their crops burnt, and their huſbandmen maſſacred, or of perſecuting without intermiſſion, and exterminating without pity, thoſe wandering bands of natives? Ought they not to prefer to ſanguinary and inglorious hoſtilities a humane and infallible method of diſarming the only enemy that remains to diſturb their tranquillity? BOOK XVIII.

The Engliſh flatter themſelves, that, without the aſſiſtance of theſe alliances, they ſhall ſoon be freed from the little interruption that remains. It is the fate of ſavage nations, ſay they, to waſte away in proportion as the people of civilized ſtates come to ſettle among them. Unable to ſubmit to the labour of cultivation, and failing of their uſual ſubſiſtence from the chaſe, they are reduced to the neceſſity of abandoning all thoſe tracts of lands which induſtry and activity have undertaken to clear. This is actually the caſe with all the natives bordering on the European ſettlements. They keep daily retiring further into the woods; they fall back upon the Aſſenipouals and Hudſon's Bay, where they muſt neceſſarily encroach upon each other, and in a ſhort time muſt periſh for want of ſubſiſtence.

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But before this total deſtruction is brought about, events of a very ſerious nature may occur. We have not yet forgotten the generous Pondiack. That formidable warrior had broken with the Engliſh in 1762. Major Roberts, who was employed to reconcile him, ſent him a preſent of brandy. Some Iroquois, who were ſtanding round their chief, ſhuddered at the ſight of this liquor. Not doubting but that it was poiſoned, they inſiſted that he ſhould not accept ſo ſuſpicious a preſent. *How can it be*, ſaid their leader, *that a man, who knows my eſteem for him, and the ſignal ſervices I have done him, ſhould entertain a thought of taking away my life?* Saying this, he received and drank the brandy with a confidence equal to that of the moſt renowned hero of antiquity.

By many inſtances of magnanimity ſimilar to this, the eyes of the ſavage nations had all been fixed upon Pondiack. His deſign was to unite them in a body for the defence of their lands and independence. Several unfortunate circumſtances concurred to defeat this grand project; but it may be reſumed, and it is not impoſſible that it may ſucceed. The uſurpers would then be under a neceſſity of protecting their frontier againſt an enemy that hath none of thoſe expences to ſuſtain, or evils to dread, which war brings with it among civilized nations; and will find the advantages they have promiſed themſelves from conqueſts made at the expence of ſo much treaſure and ſo much blood, conſiderably retarded at leaſt, if not entirely loſt. Should the Engliſh diſdain an advice dictated to them through me by juſtice and humanity, may another Pondiack ariſe from his aſhes, and conſummate his plan.

Extent of the Britiſh dominions in North America.

The two Floridas, part of Louiſiana, and all Canada, obtained at the ſame era, either by conqueſt or treaty, rendered the Engliſh maſters of all that ſpace which extends from the river St. Lawrence to the Miſſiſſippi; ſo that without reckoning Hudſon's Bay, Newfoundland, and the other iſlands of North America, they would have been in poſſeſſion of the moſt exten-

ſive empire that ever was formed upon the face of the globe. BOOK XVIII.

This vaſt territory is divided from north to ſouth by a chain of high mountains, which alternately receding from and approaching to the coaſt, leave between them and the ocean a tract of land of a hundred and fifty, two hundred, and ſometimes three hundred miles in breadth. Beyond theſe Apalachian mountains is an immenſe deſert, into which ſome travellers have ventured as far as eight hundred leagues, without finding an end to it. It is ſuppoſed that the rivers at the extremity of theſe uncultivated regions have a communication with the South Sea. If this conjecture, which is not deſtitute of probability, ſhould be confirmed by experience, England would unite in her colonies all the branches of communication and commerce of the world. As her territories extend from one American ſea to the other, ſhe may be ſaid to join the four quarters of the world. From all her European ports, from all her African ſettlements, ſhe freights and ſends out ſhips to the New World. From her maritime ſettlements in the eaſt ſhe would have a direct channel to the Weſt Indies by the Pacific Ocean. She would diſcover thoſe ſlips of land, or branches of the ſea, the iſthmus of the ſtrait, which lies between the northern extremities of Aſia and America. By the vaſt extent of her colonies, ſhe would have in her own power all the avenues of trade, and would ſecure all the advantages of it by her numerous fleets. Perhaps, by having the empire of all the ſeas, ſhe might aſpire to the ſupremacy of both worlds. But it is not in the deſtiny of any ſingle nation to attain to ſuch a pitch of greatneſs. Is then extent of dominion ſo flattering an object, when conqueſts are made only to be loſt again? Let the Romans ſpeak! Does it conſtitute power, to poſſeſs ſuch a ſhare of the globe, that ſome part ſhall always be enlightened by the rays of the ſun, if while we reign in one world we are to languiſh in obſcurity in the other? Let the Spaniards anſwer!

The Engliſh will be happy if they can preſerve, by

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the means of culture and navigation, an empire, which muſt ever be found too extenſive, when it cannot be maintained without bloodſhed. But as this is the price which ambition muſt always pay for the ſucceſs of its enterpriſes, it is by commerce alone that conqueſts can become valuable to a maritime power. Never did war procure for any conqueror a territory more improveable by human induſtry than that of the northern continent of America. Although the land in general be ſo low near the ſea, that in many parts it is ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable from the top of the mainmaſt, even after anchoring in fourteen fathom, yet the coaſt is very eaſy of acceſs, becauſe the depth diminiſhes inſenſibly as you advance. From this circumſtance, it is eaſy to determine exactly by the line the diſtance of the main land. Beſide this, the mariner has another ſign, which is the appearance of trees, that, ſeeming to riſe out of the ſea, form an inchanting object to his view upon a ſhore, which preſents roads and harbours without number, for the reception and preſervation of ſhipping.

The productions of the earth ariſe in great abundance from a ſoil newly cleared; but, on the other hand, they are a long time before they come to maturity. Many plants are even ſo late in flower, that the winter prevents their ripening; while, on our continent, both the fruit and the ſeed of them are gathered in a more northern latitude. What can be the cauſe of this phenomenon? Before the arrival of the Europeans, the North Americans, living upon the produce of their hunting and fiſhery, left their lands totally uncultivated. The whole country was covered with woods and thickets. Under the ſhade of theſe foreſts grew a multitude of plants. The leaves, which fell every winter from the trees, formed a bed three or four inches thick. Before the damps had quite rotted this ſpecies of manure, the ſummer came on; and nature, left entirely to herſelf, continued heaping inceſſantly upon each other theſe effects of her fertility. The plants buried under wet leaves, through which they with difficulty made their way in a long courſe

of time, became accuſtomed to a long vegetation. The force of culture has not yet been able to ſubdue the habit fixed and confirmed by ages, nor have the diſpoſitions of nature given way to the influence of art. But this climate, ſo long unknown or neglected by mankind; preſents them with advantages which ſupply the defects and ill conſequences of that omiſſion. BOOK XVIII.

It produces almoſt all the trees that are natives of our climate. It has alſo others peculiar to itſelf, among which are the ſugar maple, and the candleburry myrtle. Trees peculiar to North America.

The latter, thus named on account of its produce, is a branching, tortuous ſhrub, rather irregular, and which delights in a moiſt ſoil. It is therefore ſeldom found at any diſtance from the ſea, or from large rivers. Its leaves, alternately diſpoſed, are narrow, entire, or denticulated, and always covered with ſmall gilded points, which are almoſt imperceptible. It bears male and female flowers, upon two different plants. The firſt form a bezil, every ſcale of which bears ſix ſtamina. The ſecond, diſpoſed alike on young ſprigs, have, inſtead of ſtamina, an ovary, ſurmounted with ſtyles, which becomes a very ſmall, hard, and ſpherical ſhell, which is covered with a granulated, white, and unctuous ſubſtance. Theſe fruits, which together appear like a bunch of grapes, are gathered at the end of the autumn, and thrown into boiling water. The ſubſtance with which they are covered detaches itſelf, ſwims at the top, and is ſkimmed off. As ſoon as this is grown cold, it is commonly of a dirty green colour. To purify it, it is boiled a ſecond time, when it becomes tranſparent, and acquires an agreeable green colour.

This ſubſtance, which in quality and conſiſtence is a medium between tallow and wax, ſupplied the place of both to the firſt Europeans who landed in this country. The dearneſs of it has occaſioned it to be leſs uſed, in proportion as the number of domeſtic animals hath increaſed. Nevertheleſs, as it burns slower than tal-

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low, is leſs ſubject to melt, and has not that diſagreeable ſmell, it is ſtill preferred, wherever it can be procured at a moderate price. If it be mixed with a fourth part of tallow, it burns much better; but this is not its only property. It ſerves to make excellent ſoap and plaſters for wounds; it is even employed for the purpoſe of ſealing letters. The ſugar maple merits no leſs attention than the candleburry myrtle, as may be conceived from its name.

This tree, the nature of which is to flouriſh by the ſide of ſtreams, or in marſhy places, grows to the height of the oak. Its trunk is ſtraight and cylindrical, and covered with a tolerably thin bark. Its branches, which are always oppoſite, are covered with leaves diſpoſed in the ſame manner, which are whitiſh underneath, and are divided into five acute lobes. Its flowers, collected in cluſters, have a calix, with five diviſions, charged with as many petals, and eight ſtamina, which are ſometimes abortive. In the centre of them is a piſtil, which becomes a fruit, compoſed of two pods, preſſed together, and cloſed at the bottom, open and alated at the top, and filled with a ſingle ſeed.

In the month of March, an inciſion, of the depth of three or four inches, is made at the lower part of the trunk of the maple. A pipe is put into the orifice, through which the juice that flows from it is conveyed into a veſſel placed to receive it. The young trees are ſo full of this liquor, that in half an hour they will fill a quart bottle. The old ones afford leſs, but of much better quality. No more than one inciſion, or two at moſt, can be made, without draining and weakening the tree. If three or four pipes be applied, it ſoon dies.

The ſap of this tree has naturally the flavour of honey. To reduce it to ſugar, it is evaporated by fire, till it has acquired the conſiſtence of a thick ſyrup. It is then poured into moulds of earthen ware, or bark of the birch tree. The ſyrup hardens as it cools, and becomes a red kind of ſugar, almoſt tranſparent, and

pleaſant enough to the taſte. To give it a whiteneſs, flour is ſometimes mixed up with it in the making; but this ingredient always changes the flavour of it. This kind of ſugar is uſed for the ſame purpoſes as that which is made from canes; but eighteen or twenty pounds of juice go to the making of one pound of ſugar, ſo that it can be of no great uſe in trade. Honey is the ſugar of the ſavages of our countries; the maple is the ſugar of the ſavages of America. Nature diſplays in all parts its ſweets and its wonders.

Birds peculiar to North America.

Amidſt the multitude of birds which inhabit the foreſts of North America, there is one extremely ſingular in its kind; this is the humming bird; a ſpecies of which, on account of its ſmallneſs, is called *l'oiſeau mouche*, or the fly bird. Its beak is long and pointed like a needle, and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon its head it has a black tuft of incomparable beauty. Its breaſt is of a roſe colour, and its belly white as milk. The back, wings, and tail, are grey, bordered with ſilver, and ſtreaked with the brighteſt gold. The down, which covers all the plumage of this little bird, gives it ſo delicate a caſt, that it reſembles a velvet flower, the beauty of which fades on the ſlighteſt touch.

The ſpring is the only ſeaſon for this charming bird. Its neſt, perched on the middle of a bough, is covered on the outſide with a grey and greeniſh moſs, and on the inſide lined with a very ſoft down gathered from yellow flowers. This neſt is half an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter. There are never found more than two eggs in it, about the ſize of the ſmalleſt peas. Many attempts have been made to rear the young ones; but they have never lived more than three weeks or a month at moſt.

The humming bird lives entirely on the juice of flowers, fluttering from one to another, like the bees. Sometimes it buries itſelf in the calix of the largeſt flowers. Its flight produces a buzzing noiſe like that of a ſpinning-wheel. When tired, it lights upon the neareſt tree or ſtake; reſts a few minutes, and flies

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again to the flowers. Notwithſtanding its weakneſs, it does not appear timid; but will ſuffer a man to approach within eight or ten feet of it.

Who would imagine, that ſo diminutive an animal could be malicious, paſſionate, and quarrelſome? Theſe birds are often ſeen fighting together with great fury and obſtinacy. The ſtrokes they give with their beak are ſo ſudden and ſo quick, that they are not diſtinguiſhable by the eye. Their wings move with ſuch agility, that they ſeem not to have any kind of motion. They are more heard than ſeen; and their noiſe reſembles that of a ſparrow.

Theſe little birds are all impatience. When they come near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they tear all the leaves aſunder. The precipitation with which they peck it, betrays, as it is ſaid, the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the ſummer, thouſands of flowers may be ſeen ſtript of all their leaves by the fury of the humming birds. It may be doubted, however, whether this mark of reſentment is not rather an effect of hunger than of an unneceſſarily deſtructive inſtinct.

Every ſpecies of beings hath another that is an enemy to it. That of the fly-bird is a large ſpider, which is very greedy of its eggs. This is the ſword which is continually ſuſpended over the tyrant's head.

North America was formerly devoured by inſects. As the air was not then purified, the ground cleared, the woods cut down, nor the waters drained off, theſe little animals deſtroyed, without oppoſition, all the productions of nature. None of them were uſeful to mankind. There is only one at preſent, which is the bee; but this is ſuppoſed to have been carried from the Old to the New World. The ſavages call it the Engliſh fly; and it is only found near the coaſts. Theſe circumſtances announce it to be of foreign original. The bees fly in numerous ſwarms through the foreſts of the New World. Their numbers are continually increaſing, and their honey, which is converted to ſeveral uſes, ſupplies many perſons with food,

Their wax becomes daily a conſiderable branch of trade.

The bee is not the only preſent which Europe has had it in her power to make to America. She has enriched her alſo with a breed of domeſtic animals, for the ſavages had none. America had not yet aſſociated beaſts with men in the labours of cultivation, when the Europeans carried over thither oxen, ſheep, and horſes. They were all, at firſt, expoſed, as well as man, to epidemical diſeaſes. If the contagion did not attack them, as it did their proud ſovereign, in the ſource even of their generation, ſeveral of their ſpecies were at leaſt reproduced with much difficulty. All of them, except the hog, loſt much of their ſtrength and ſize. It was not till late, and that only in ſome places, that they recovered their original properties. Without doubt, it was the climate, the nature of the air, and the ſoil, which prevented the ſucceſs of their tranſplantation. Such is the law of climates, which wills every people, every animal and vegetable ſpecies, to grow, and flouriſh in its native ſoil. The love of their country ſeems an ordinance of nature preſcribed to all beings, as the deſire of preſerving their exiſtence.

Europe ſupplies North America with domeſtic animals.

Yet there are certain correſpondences of climate, which form exceptions to the general rule againſt the tranſplanting of animals and plants. When the Engliſh firſt landed on the North American continent, the wandering inhabitants of thoſe deſolate reigions had ſcarcely arrived at the cultivation of a ſmall quantity of maize, a plant which reſembles a reed. Its leaves, which are large, and very long, ſurround, at their baſis, the ſtem, which is round and knotty at the intervals. It is terminated by a panicle of male flowers. Each of the bunches which compoſe it, hath two flowers, covered with two common ſcales; and each flower hath three ſtamina, incloſed between two ſcales proper to them. At the axilla of the inferior leaves, the female flowers are found, diſpoſed in a very cloſe cluſter, upon a thick and fleſhy axis, con-

European grain hath been cultivated in North America.

BOOK XVIII. cealed under ſeveral coverings. The pi[illegible] of theſe flowers, ſurrounded with ſome ſmall ſcales, and ſurmounted with a long ſtyle, becomes a farinaceous ſeed, almoſt ſpherical, and half ſunk into the common axis. Its maturity is known by its colour, and by the ſeparation of the covering, through which the blade of corn may be ſeen.

This ſpecies of corn, unknown at that time in Europe, was the only one known in the New World. The culture of it was by no means difficult. The ſavages contented themſelves with taking off the turf, making a few holes in the ground with a ſtick, and throwing into each of them a ſingle grain, which produced two hundred and fifty or three hundred. The method of preparing it for food was not more complicated. They pounded it in a wooden or ſtone mortar, and made it into a paſte, which they baked under embers. They often ate it toaſted merely upon the coals.

The maize has many advantages. Its leaves are uſeful in feeding cattle; a circumſtance of great moment where there are very few meadows. A hungry, light, ſandy ſoil, agrees beſt with this plant. The ſeed may be frozen in the ſpring two or three times without impairing the harveſt. In ſhort, it is of all plants the one that is leaſt injured by the exceſs of drought or moiſture.

Theſe cauſes, which introduced the cultivation of it in that part of the world, induced the Engliſh to preſerve and even promote it in their ſettlements. They ſold it to the ſouthern part of Europe, and to the E[illegible] Indies, and employed it for their own uſe. They [illegible] not, however, neglect to enrich their plantations with European grains, all of which ſucceeded, though not ſo perfectly as in their native ſoil. With the ſuperfluity of their harveſts, the produce of their herds, and the clearing of their foreſts, the coloniſts formed a trade with all the wealthieſt and moſt populous provinces of the New World.

The mother-country, finding that her northern co-

lonies had ſupplanted her in her trade with South America, and fearing that they would ſoon become her rivals, even in Europe, at all the markets for ſalt proviſions and corn, endeavoured to divert their induſtry to objects that might be more uſeful to her. An opportunity ſoon preſented itſelf. BOOK XVIII.

The greateſt part of the pitch and tar the Engliſh wanted for their fleet, uſed to be furniſhed by Sweden. In 1703, that ſtate was ſo blind to its true intereſt, as to lay this important branch of commerce under the reſtrictions of an excluſive charter. The firſt effect of this monopoly was a ſudden and conſiderable increaſe of price. England, taking advantage of this blunder of the Swedes, encouraged, by conſiderable premiums, the importation of all ſorts of naval ſtores which North America could furniſh. North America hath ſupplied Europe with naval ſtores.

Theſe rewards did not immediately produce the effect that was expected from them. A bloody war, raging in each of the four quarters of the world prevented both the mother-country and the colonies from giving to this beginning revolution in commerce, the attention which it merited. The northern nations, which had all the ſame motives of intereſt, taking this inaction, which was only occaſioned by the hurry of a war, for an abſolute proof of inability, thought they might without danger lay every reſtrictive clauſe upon the exportation of marine ſtores, that could contribute to enhance the price of them. For this purpoſe they entered into mutual engagements which were made public in 1718, a time, when all the maritime powers ſtill felt the effects of a war that had continued ſeven years.

England was alarmed at ſo odious a convention. She diſpatched to America men of ſufficient ability to convince the inhabitants how neceſſary it was for them to aſſiſt the views of the mother-country; and of ſufficient experience to direct their firſt attempts towards great objects, without making them paſs through thoſe minute details, which quickly extinguiſh an ardour excited with difficulty. In a very ſhort time, ſuch quantities

BOOK XVIII. of pitch, tar, turpentine, yards and maſts, were brought into the harbours of Great Britain, that ſhe was enabled to ſupply the nations around her.

This ſudden ſucceſs blinded the Britiſh government. The cheapneſs of the naval ſtores furniſhed by the colonies, in compariſon of thoſe which were brought from the Baltic, gave them an advantage, which ſeemed to enſure a conſtant preference. Upon this the miniſtry concluded that the bounties might be withdrawn. But they had not taken into their calculation the difference of freight, which was entirely in favour of their rivals. A total ſtop enſued in this branch of trade, and made them ſenſible of their error. In 1729, they revived the bounties; which, though they were not laid ſo high as formerly, were ſufficient to give to the vent of American ſtores the greateſt ſuperiority, at leaſt in England, over thoſe of the northern nations.

The woods, though they conſtituted one of the principal riches of the colonies, had hitherto been overlooked by the governors of the mother-country. The produce of them had long been exported by the Engliſh to Spain, Portugal, and the different markets in the Mediterranean, where it was bought up for building and other uſes. As theſe traders did not take in return merchandiſe ſufficient to complete their cargoes, it had been a practice with the Hamburghers, and even the Dutch, to import on their bottoms the produce of the moſt fertile climates of Europe. This double trade of export, and carrying the merchandiſe of other nations, had conſiderably augmented the Britiſh navigation. The parliament, being informed of this advantage, in the year 1722, immediately exempted the timber of the colonies from all thoſe duties of importation to which Ruſſian, Swediſh, and Daniſh timber are ſubject. This firſt favour was followed by a bounty, which, at the ſame time that it comprehended every ſpecies of wood in general, was principally calculated for thoſe which are employed in ſhip-building. Unfortunately the materials of the

New World were found to be very inferior in quality to thoſe of the Old; they were, however, employed preferably to the latter by the Engliſh navy. England drew its yards and its maſts from North America, and was likewiſe deſirous of getting ſails and rigging from thence.

The French Proteſtants, who, when driven from their country by a prince, become infected with a ſpirit of bigotry, carried their national induſtry into all the countries of his enemies, and taught England the value of flax and hemp, two commodities of the utmoſt importance to a maritime power. Both theſe plants were cultivated with ſucceſs in Scotland and Ireland; but the manufactures of the nation were chiefly ſupplied with them from Ruſſia. To put a ſtop to this foreign importation, it was propoſed to grant a bounty to North America of 135 livres [5l. 12s.] for every ton of theſe articles. This was doing a great deal; and yet ſo conſiderable an encouragement had no great ſucceſs. There were not many lands in that part of the New World which were good enough for a production which proſpers only upon an excellent ſoil. This region abounds more in iron, that metal which is deſtined to conquer the gold and ſilver of the ſouth.

The iron of North America hath been conveyed into our climates.

This moſt ſerviceable of metals, ſo neceſſary to mankind, was unknown to the Americans, till the Europeans taught them the moſt fatal uſe of it, that of making weapons. The Engliſh themſelves long neglected the iron mines, which nature had laviſhed on the continent where they were ſettled. That channel of [illegible]th had been diverted from the mother-country [illegible]ing clogged with enormous duties. The proprietors of the national mines, in concert with thoſe of the coppice woods, which are uſed in the working of them, had procured impoſts to be laid on them that amounted to a prohibition. By corruption, intrigue, and ſophiſtry, theſe enemies to the public good had ſtifled a competition which would have been fatal to their intereſts. At length the government took the firſt ſtep towards a right conduct. The importation of

BOOK XVIII. American iron into the port of London was granted duty free; but at the ſame time it was forbidden to be carried to any other ports, or even more than ten miles inland. This whimſical reſtriction continued till 1757. At that time the general voice of the people called upon the parliament to repeal an ordinance ſo manifeſtly contrary to every principle of public utility, and to extend to the whole kingdom a privilege which had been granted excluſively to the capital.

Though nothing could be more reaſonable than this demand, it met with the ſtrongeſt oppoſition. Combinations of intereſted individuals were formed, to repreſent, that the hundred and nine forges worked in England, not reckoning thoſe of Scotland, produced annually eighteen thouſand tons of iron, and employed a great number of able workmen; that the mines, which were inexhauſtible, would have ſupplied a much greater quantity, had not a perpetual apprehenſion prevailed, that the duties on American iron would be taken off; that the iron works carried on in England conſumed annually one hundred and ninety-eight thouſand cords of underwood, and that thoſe woods furniſhed, moreover, bark for the tanneries, and materials for ſhip-building; and that the American iron, not being proper for ſteel, for making ſharp inſtruments, or many of the utenſils of navigation, would contribute very little to leſſen the importation from abroad, and would have no other effect than that of putting a ſtop to the forges of Great Britain.

Theſe groundleſs repreſentations had no weight with the parliament, who ſaw clearly, that, unleſs the [illegible] of the original materials could be leſſened, the iron would ſoon loſe the numberleſs manufactures of iron and ſteel, by which it had ſo long been enriched; and there was no time to be loſt in putting a ſtop to the progreſs other nations were making in theſe works. It was therefore reſolved, that the free importation of iron from America ſhould be permitted in all the ports of England. This wiſe reſolution was accompanied with an act of juſtice. The proprietors of coppices

were, by a statute of Henry the Eighth, forbidden to clear their lands; but the parliament took off this prohibition, and left them at liberty to make uſe of their eſtates as they ſhould think proper.

Previous to theſe regulations, Great Britain uſed to pay annually to Spain, Norway, Sweden, and Ruſſia, ten millions of livres [416,666l. 13s. 4d.] for the iron ſhe purchaſed of them. This tribute is greatly leſſened, and will ſtill decreaſe. The ore is found in ſuch quantities in America, and is ſo eaſily ſeparated from the ground, that the Engliſh did not deſpair of having it in their power to furniſh Portugal, Turkey, Africa, the Eaſt Indies, and every country in the world with which they had any commercial connections.

Perhaps the Engliſh might be too ſanguine in their repreſentations of the advantages they expected from ſo many articles of importance to their navy. But it was ſufficient for them, if by the aſſiſtance of their colonies they could free themſelves from that dependence in which the northern powers of Europe had hitherto kept them, with regard to the equipment of their fleets. Nothing appeared to them more capable of checking their natural ardour for the empire of the ſea, which alone could enſure to them the empire of the New World.

Can it be expected that wine and ſilk will proſper in North America?

After having paved the way to that grand object, by forming a free, independent navy, ſuperior to that of every other nation, England has adopted every meaſure that could contribute to her enjoyment of a ſpecies of conqueſt ſhe had made in America, not ſo much by the force of her arms, as by her induſtry. In proportion as the ſettlements, from their natural tendency, advanced from the north to the ſouth, freſh projects and enterpriſes, ſuitable to the nature of the ſoil and of the climate, ſuggeſted themſelves. To the wood, the grains, and the cattle, which had been the former productions, were added ſucceſſively rice, tobacco, indigo, and other herbs. The Engliſh, who had no wine of their own growth in Europe, reſolved

BOOK XVIII. to endeavour to procure that alſo from the New Hemiſphere.

Upon the northern continent of North America are found prodigious quantities of wild vines, which bear grapes, different in colour, ſize, and quantity, but all of a ſour and diſagreeable flavour. It was ſuppoſed that good management would give theſe plants that perfection which unaſſiſted nature had denied them; and French vine-dreſſers were invited into a country, where neither public nor private impoſitions took away their inclination to labour, by depriving them of the fruits of their induſtry. The repeated experiments they made, both with American and European plants, were all equally unſucceſsful. The juice of the grape was too watery, too weak, and too difficult to preſerve. The country was too full of woods, which attract and confine the moiſt and hot vapours; the ſeaſons were too unſettled, and the inſects too numerous near the foreſts, to ſuffer a production to grow up and proſper, of which the Engliſh, and all other nations who have it not, are ſo ambitious. The time will come, perhaps, when this country will furniſh a liquor, in the preparation of which moſt parts of the globe are employed, and the uſe of which many other parts are ſo much attached to: but this event will not happen for ſeveral centuries, and after ſeveral repeated experiments. It is moſt probable that the harveſt of the vine will be preceded by that of ſilk; the work of that little worm which clothes mankind with the leaves of trees digeſted in its entrails.

A very conſiderable ſum of money was annually exported from Great Britain for the purchaſe of this production; it was therefore determined to obtain it from Carolina, which, from the mildneſs of the climate, and the great abundance of mulberry trees, ſeemed favourable to the project. Some attempts made by the government to attract ſome Switzers into the colony were yet more ſucceſsful than could have been expected. Yet the progreſs of this branch of

trade has not been anſwerable to ſo promiſing a beginning. The blame has been laid on the inhabitants, who buying only Negro men, from whom they received an immediate and certain profit, neglected to have women, who with their children might have been employed in bringing up ſilk-worms, an occupation ſuitable to the weakneſs of that ſex, and to the tendereſt age. But it ought to have been conſidered, that men, coming from another hemiſphere into a rude uncultivated country, would apply their firſt care to the cultivation of eſculent plants, breeding cattle, and the toils of immediate neceſſity. This is the natural and conſtant proceeding of well-governed ſtates. From agriculture, which is the ſource of population, they riſe to the arts of luxury; and the arts of luxury nouriſh commerce, which is the child of induſtry and parent of wealth. In 1769, the parliament were of opinion that this period was at length arrived; and they granted a bounty of 25 per cent. for ſeven years on all raw ſilks imported from the colonies, a bounty of 20 per cent. for ſeven years following, and for ſeven years after that a bounty of 15 per cent. This encouragement would neceſſarily be followed by the cultivation of cotton and olive trees, and of ſeveral other plants. The nation thought that there are few productions, either of Europe or Aſia, which might not be tranſplanted and cultivated with more or leſs ſucceſs on ſome of the vaſt countries of North America. Men only were wanting; and no proper precautions were neglected to increaſe their number.

With what kind of men the provinces of North America were peopled.

The firſt perſons who landed in this deſert and ſavage region were Engliſhmen, who had been perſecuted at home for their civil and religious opinions.

It was not to be expected that this firſt emigration would be attended with important conſequences. The inhabitants of Great Britain are ſo ſtrongly attached to their native ſoil, that nothing leſs than civil wars or revolutions can incline thoſe among them who have any property, character, or induſtry, to a change of climate and country: for which reaſon, the re-eſta-

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bliſhment of public tranquillity in the mother-country was likely to put an inſurmountable bar to the progreſs of American cultivation.

Add to this, that the Engliſh, though naturally active, ambitious, and enterpriſing, were ill adapted to the buſineſs of clearing the ſoil of the New World. Accuſtomed to a quiet life, eaſe, and many conveniencies, nothing but the enthuſiaſm of religion or politics could ſupport them under the labours, miſeries, wants, and calamities, inſeparable from new plantations.

It is further to be obſerved, that, though England might have been able to overcome theſe difficulties, ſhe ought not to have wiſhed to do it. Without doubt, the founding of colonies, rendering them flouriſhing, and enriching herſelf with their productions, was an advantageous proſpect to her; but thoſe advantages would be dearly purchaſed at the expence of her own population.

Happily for her, the intolerant and deſpotic ſpirit that prevailed in moſt countries in Europe, forced numberleſs victims to take refuge in an uncultivated tract, which, in its ſtate of deſolation, ſeemed to implore that aſſiſtance for itſelf which it offered to the unfortunate. Theſe men, who had eſcaped from the rod of tyranny, in croſſing the ſeas, abandoned all the hopes of return, and attached themſelves for ever to a country, which at the ſame time afforded them an aſylum and an eaſy quiet ſubſiſtence. Their good fortune could not remain for ever unknown. Multitudes, particularly from Germany, flocked to partake of it. One of the advantages which the emigrants propoſed to themſelves was the becoming citizens throughout the whole extent of the Britiſh dominions, after a reſidence of ſeven years in any of the colonies.

While tyranny and perſecution were deſtroying and exhauſting population in Europe, Engliſh America was beginning to be filled with three ſorts of inhabitants. The firſt claſs, which is the moſt numerous, conſiſts of freemen.

The Europeans, who overrun and deſolate the globe for theſe three centuries paſt, have ſcattered colonies in moſt of the points of its circumference; and their race hath more or leſs degenerated everywhere. The Engliſh ſettlements of North America appeared to have undergone a ſimilar fate. The inhabitants were univerſally thought to be leſs robuſt in labour, leſs powerful in war, and leſs adapted to the arts, than their anceſtors. Becauſe the care of clearing the lands, of purifying the air, of altering the climate, and of improving nature, had abſorbed all the faculties of this people; tranſplanted under another ſky, it was concluded that they were degenerated, and unable to elevate their minds to any complicated ſpeculations. BOOK XVIII.

In order to diſpel this fatal prejudice, it became neceſſary that a Franklin ſhould teach the philoſophers of our continent the art of governing the thunder. It was neceſſary that the pupils of this illuſtrious man ſhould throw a ſtriking light upon ſeveral branches of the natural ſciences. It was neceſſary that eloquence ſhould renew, in that part of the New World, thoſe ſtrong and rapid impreſſions which it had made in the proudeſt republics of antiquity. It was neceſſary that the rights of mankind, and the rights of nations, ſhould be firmly eſtabliſhed there, in original writings, which will be the delight and the conſolation of the moſt diſtant ages.

Works of imagination, and of taſte, will ſoon follow thoſe of reaſoning and obſervation. New England will ſoon, perhaps, be able to quote its Homer, its Theocritus, and its Sophocles. Neither aſſiſtance, nor maſters, nor models, are now wanting. Education is diffuſed, and improves daily. There are, in proportion, more perſons well brought up, and they have more leiſure for proſecuting the bent of their genius, than men have in Europe, where the education, even of youth, is often contrary to the progreſs and to the unfolding of genius and of reaſon.

By a ſingular contraſt with the Old World, in which the arts have paſſed from the ſouth towards the north,

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we ſhall find that in the New World the north will ſerve to enlighten the ſouthern parts. Hitherto, the mind, as well as the body, hath appeared enervated in the Weſt Indies. Men in thoſe parts, endowed with vivacity and early penetration, have a quick conception, but they do not perſevere in ſtudy, nor do they uſe themſelves to long-continued thought. Moſt of them have a great facility for acquiring every kind of knowledge, but have no deciſive turn for any particular ſcience. As they are forward, and come to maturity before us, they are far from perfection, and we are almoſt as near to it as we can be. The glory and happineſs of producing a change in their diſpoſitions muſt be the work of Engliſh America. But it is neceſſary that it ſhould take ſteps conformable to this noble deſign, and aim, by juſtice and laudable means, to form a ſet of people fit for the creation of a New World. This is what hath not yet been done.

The ſecond claſs of coloniſts was formerly compoſed of malefactors which the mother-country tranſported, after condemnation, to America, and who were bound to a ſervitude of ſeven or fourteen years to the planters who had purchaſed them from the cours of juſtice. Theſe corrupt men, always diſpoſed to commit freſh crimes, have at length been univerſally neglected.

They have been replaced by indigent perſons, whom the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting in Europe has driven into the New World. After having bought and ſold the Negro, there was but one crime which could go beyond this: this was, to ſell one's countryman, without having bought him; and to find ſome perſon who would buy him: accordingly this has been done. Having embarked without being able to pay for their paſſage, theſe wretched men are at the diſpoſal of their captain, who ſells them to whom he chooſes. This ſort of ſlavery is for a longer or ſhorter time; but it can never exceed eight years. If among theſe emigrants there are any who are not of age, their ſervitude laſts till they arrive at that period, which is fixed at twenty-one for the boys, and eighteen for the girls.

None of thoſe who are contracted for have a right to marry without the approbation of their maſter, who ſets what price he chooſes on his conſent. If any one of them ſhould run away, and be retaken, he is to ſerve a week for each day's abſence, a month for every week, and ſix months for one. The proprietor who does not think proper to receive again one who has deſerted from his ſervice, may ſell him to whom he chooſes; but that is only for the term of the firſt contract. Beſides, this ſervice doth not carry any ignominy with it; and the purchaſer does all that lies in his power to leſſen the ſtain received by this kind of ſale and purchaſe. At the end of his ſervitude, the contracted perſon enjoys all the rights of a free citizen. With his freedom, he receives from the maſter whom he has ſerved, either implements for huſbandry, or utenſils proper for his work.

But with whatever appearance of juſtice this ſpecies of traffic may be coloured, the greateſt part of the ſtrangers who go over to America under theſe conditions, would never go on board a ſhip, if they were not inviegled away. Some artful kidnappers from the fens of Holland ſpread themſelves over the Palatinate, Suabia, and the cantons of Germany, which are the beſt peopled, or the leaſt happy. There they ſet forth with raptures, the delights of the New World, and the fortunes eaſily acquired in that country. Simple men, ſeduced by theſe magnificent promiſes, blindly follow theſe infamous brokers, engaged in this ſcandalous commerce, who deliver them over to factors at Amſterdam or Rotterdam. Theſe, who are in the pay of companies who have undertaken to ſtock the colonies with inhabitants, give a gratuity to the men employed in this ſervice. Whole families are ſold, without their knowledge, to maſters at a diſtance, who impoſe the harder conditions upon them, as hunger and neceſſity do not permit the ſufferers to give a refuſal. America acquires its ſupplies of men for huſbandry, as princes do for war, by the ſame artifices; but with a leſs honeſt, and perhaps a

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more inhuman deſign; for who knows the number of thoſe who die, or who ſurvive their expectations? The deception is perpetually carried on in Europe, by carefully ſuppreſſing all correſpondence with America, which might unveil a myſtery of impoſture and iniquity, too well diſguiſed by the intereſted principles which gave riſe to it.

But, in a word, there would not be ſo many dupes, if there were fewer victims. It is the oppreſſion of government which makes theſe chimerical ideas of fortune be adopted by the credulity of the people. Men, unfortunate in their private affairs, vagabonds, or contemptible at home, have nothing worſe to fear, in a foreign climate, and eaſily purſue the proſpect of a better lot. The means made uſe of to retain them in a country where chance has given them birth, are only calculated to excite in them a deſire to quit it. It is vainly ſuppoſed that they are to be confined by prohibitions, menaces, and puniſhments: theſe do but exaſperate them, and drive them to deſertion by the very forbidding of it. They ſhould be attached by milder means, and by future expectations; whereas they are impriſoned and bound: man, born free, is reſtrained from attempting to exiſt in regions, where heaven and earth offer him an aſylum. It has been thought better to ſtifle him in his cradle, than to let him ſeek for his ſubſiſtence in ſome favourable climate. It is not judged proper even to leave him the choice of his burial-place.—Tyrants in policy! theſe are the effects of your laws! People, where then are your rights?

Is it then become neceſſary to lay open to the nations the ſchemes that are formed againſt their liberty? Muſt they be told, that by a conſpiracy of the moſt odious nature, certain powers have lately entered into an agreement, which muſt deprive even deſpair itſelf of every reſource? For theſe two centuries paſt, all the princes of Europe have been fabricating, in the ſecret receſſes of the cabinet, that long and heavy chain with which the people are encom-

paſſed on every ſide. At every negotiation freſh links were added to the chain ſo artificially contrived. Wars tended not to make ſtates more extenſive, but ſubjects more ſubmiſſive, by gradually ſubſtituting military government to the mild and gentle influence of laws and morality. The ſeveral ſovereigns have all equally ſtrengthened themſelves in their tyranny by their conqueſts or by their loſſes. When they were victorious they reigned by their armies; when humbled by defeat, they held the command by the miſery of their puſillanimous ſubjects; if they were either competitors or adverſaries from motives of ambition, they entered into league or alliance, only to aggravate the ſervitude of their people. Whether they meant to excite war or to preſerve peace, they were certain of turning to the advantage of their authority, either the aggrandiſement or the humiliation of their people. If they ceded a province, they exhauſted every other, that they might either recover it or indemnify themſelves for the loſs. If they acquired a new one, the haughtineſs they affected out of it was the occaſion of cruelty and extortion within. They borrowed one of another, by turns, every art and invention, whether of peace or of war, that might concur ſometimes to foment natural antipathy and rivalſhip, ſometimes to obliterate the character of the nations; as if there had been a tacit agreement among the rulers to ſubject the nations, one by means of another, to the deſpotiſm they had conſtantly been preparing for them. Ye people, who all groan more or leſs ſecretly, be not blinded with reſpect to your condition; thoſe who never entertained any affection for you, are come now not to have any fear for you. In the extremity of wretchedneſs one ſingle reſource remained for you; that of eſcape and emigration.—Even that has been ſhut againſt you.

Princes have agreed among themſelves to reſtore to one another deſerters, who, for the moſt part, enliſted by compulſion or by fraud, have a right to eſcape; not only villains, who, in reality, ought not to find a

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Thus all ye unhappy labourers, who find neither ſubſiſtence nor work in your own countries, after they have been ravaged and rendered barren by the exactions of finance; thus ye die where ye had the misfortune to be born; ye have no refuge but in the grave. All ye artiſts and workmen of every ſpecies, haraſſed by monopolies, who are refuſed the right of working at your own free diſpoſal, unleſs you have purchaſed the privileges of your calling: ye who are kept for your whole life in the workſhop, for the purpoſe of enriching a privileged factor: ye whom a court-mourning leaves for months together without bread or wages! never expect to live out of a country where ſoldiers and guards keep you impriſoned; go, wander in deſpair, and die of regret. If ye venture to complain, your cries will be re-echoed and loſt in the depth of a dungeon; if ye make your eſcape, ye will be purſued even beyond mountains and rivers: ye will be ſent back, or given up, bound hand and foot, to torture, and to that eternal reſtraint, to which you have been condemned from your birth. Do you likewiſe, whom nature has endowed with a free ſpirit, independent of prejudice and error, who dare to think and talk like men, do you eraſe from your minds every idea of truth, nature, and humanity! Applaud every encroachment made on your country and your fellow-citizens, or elſe maintain a profound ſilence in the receſſes of obſcurity and concealment. All ye who were born in thoſe barbarous ſtates, where the condition for the mutual reſtoration of deſerters has been entered into by the ſeveral princes, and ſealed by a treaty; recollect the inſcription Dante has engraven on the gate of his infernal region: *Voi ch' entrate, laſciate omai ogni ſperanza: You who enter here, leave behind you every hope.*

What! is there then no aſylum remaining beyond the ſeas? Will not England open her colonies to thoſe

wretches who voluntarily prefer her dominion to the inſupportable yoke of their own country? What occaſion has ſhe for that infamous band of contracted ſlaves, ſeduced and debauched by the ſhameful means employed by every ſtate to increaſe their armies? What need has ſhe of thoſe beings ſtill more miſerable, of whom ſhe compoſes another claſs of her inhabitants?

Yes, by an antiquity, the more ſhocking as it is apparently the leſs neceſſary, the northern provinces have had recourſe to the traffic and ſlavery of the Negroes. It will not be diſowned, that they may be better fed, better clothed, leſs ill-treated, and leſs overburdened with toil, than in the iſlands. The laws protect them more effectually, and they ſeldom become the victims of the barbarity or caprice of an odious tyrant. But ſtill, what muſt be the burden of a man's life who is condemned to languiſh in eternal ſlavery? Some humane ſectaries, Chriſtians who look for virtues in the goſpel, more than for opinions, have often been deſirous of reſtoring to their ſlaves that liberty for which they cannot receive any adequate compenſation; but they have been a long time withholden by a law, which directed that an aſſignment of a ſufficiency for ſubſiſtence ſhould be made to thoſe who were ſet at liberty.

Let us rather ſay, they have been prevented from doing this by the convenient cuſtom of being waited on by ſlaves; by the fondneſs they have for power, which they attempt to juſtify by pretending to alleviate their ſervitude; and by the opinion ſo readily entertained that the ſlaves do not complain of a ſtate, which is by time changed into nature: theſe are the ſophiſms of ſelf-love, calculated to appeaſe the clamours of conſcience. The generality of mankind are not born with evil diſpoſitions, or prone to do ill by choice; but even among thoſe whom nature ſeems to have formed juſt and good, there are but few who poſſeſs a ſoul ſufficiently diſintereſted, courageous, and great, to do any good action, if they muſt ſacrifice ſome advantage for it.

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But ſtill the Quakers have lately ſet an example which ought to make an epocha in the hiſtory of religion and humanity. In one of their aſſemblies, where every one of the faithful, who conceives himſelf moved by the impulſe of the Holy Spirit, has a right of ſpeaking; one of the brethren, who was himſelf undoubtedly inſpired on this occaſion, aroſe and ſaid; "How long then ſhall we have two conſciences, two "meaſures, two ſcales! one in our own favour, one "for the ruin of our neighbour, both equally falſe? "Is it for us, brethren, to complain at this moment, "that the parliament of England wiſhes to enſlave "us, and to impoſe upon us the yoke of ſubjects, "without leaving us the rights of citizens; while for "this century paſt, we have been calmly acting the "part of tyrants, by keeping in bonds of the hardeſt "ſlavery men who are our equals and our brethren? "What have thoſe unhappy men done to us, whom na"ture hath ſeparated from us by barriers ſo formidable, "whom our avarice has ſought after through ſtorms and "wrecks, and brought away from the midſt of their "burning ſands, or from their dark foreſts inhabited "by tygers? What crime have they been guilty of, "that they ſhould be torn from a country which fed "them without toil, and that they ſhould be tranſ"planted by us to a land where they periſh under the "labours of ſervitude? Father of heaven, what fami"ly haſt thou then created, in which the elder born, "after having ſeized on the property of their bre"thren, are ſtill reſolved to compel them with ſtripes, "to manure with the blood of their veins and the "ſweat of their brow that very inheritance of which "they have been robbed? Deplorable race, whom we "render brutes to tyrannize over them; in whom we "extinguiſh every power of the ſoul, to load their "limbs and their bodies with burdens; in whom we "efface the image of God, and the ſtamp of man"hood. A race mutilated and diſhonoured as to the "faculties of mind and body, throughout its exiſtence, "by us who are Chriſtians and Engliſhmen! Engliſh,

" men, ye people favoured by Heaven, and reſpect-
" ed on the ſeas, would ye be free and tyrants at the
" ſame inſtant? No, brethren! it is time we ſhould
" be conſiſtent with ourſelves. Let us ſet free thoſe
" miſerable victims of our pride: let us reſtore the
" Negroes to that liberty which man ſhould never
" take from man. May all Chriſtian ſocieties be in-
" duced, by our example, to repair an injuſtice au-
" thoriſed by the crimes and plunders of two centu-
" ries! May men too long degraded, at length raiſe
" to heaven their arms freed from chains, and their
" eyes bathed in tears of gratitude! Alas! theſe un-
" happy mortals have hitherto ſhed no tears but thoſe
" of deſpair."

This diſcourſe awakened remorſe, and the ſmall number of Negroes who belonged to the Quakers were ſet at liberty. If the fetters of theſe unfortunate people were not broken by the other coloniſts of North America, yet Pennſylvania, New Jerſey, and Virginia, warmly ſolicited that this infamous traffic of men ſhould be prohibited. Every colony of this vaſt continent appeared diſpoſed to follow this example; but they were prevented by an order from the mother-country to its delegates, to reject every propoſal tending to this humane project. This cruel prohibition would not have been ſurpriſing, if it had come from thoſe countries which are as deep ſunk in barbariſm by the ſhackles of vice, as they have formerly been by thoſe of ignorance. When a government, both ſacerdotal and military, has brought every thing, even the opinions of men, under its yoke; when man, become an impoſtor, has perſuaded the armed multitude that he holds from Heaven the right of oppreſſing the earth, there is no ſhadow of liberty left for civilized nations. Why ſhould they not take their revenge on the people of the torrid zone? But I ſhall never comprehend by what fatality that legiſlation, which is the moſt happily planned of any that hath ever exiſted, hath been capable of preferring the intereſt of a few

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of its merchants to the dictates of nature, of reaſon, and of virtue.

To what degree the population of North America hath ariſen.

The population of North America conſiſts of four hundred thouſand Negroes, and of two millions five or ſix hundred thouſand white people, if the calculations of congreſs be not exaggerated. The number of citizens doubles every fifteen or ſixteen years in ſome of thoſe provinces, and every eighteen or twenty years in others. So rapid an increaſe muſt have two ſources; the firſt is, that a number of Iriſhmen, Jews, Frenchmen, Switzers, Palatines, Moravians, and Saltzburghers, after having been worn out with the political and religious troubles they had experienced in Europe, have gone in ſearch of peace and quietneſs in theſe diſtant climates. The ſecond ſource of that amazing increaſe ariſes from the climate itſelf of the colonies, where experience has ſhown that the people naturally doubled their numbers every five-and-twenty years. The obſervations of Mr. Franklin will make theſe truths evident.

The numbers of the people, ſays that philoſopher, increaſe every where in proportion to the number of marriages; and that number increaſes as the means of ſubſiſting a family are rendered more eaſy. In a country where the means of ſubſiſtence abound, more people marry early. In a ſociety, whoſe proſperity is a mark of its antiquity, the rich, alarmed at the expences which female luxury brings along with it, engage as late as poſſible in a ſtate, which is difficult to enter into, and expenſive to maintain; and the perſons who have no fortunes paſs their days in a celibacy which diſturbs the married ſtate. The maſters have but few children, the ſervants have none at all, and the artiſans are afraid of having any. This circumſtance is ſo evident, eſpecially in great towns, that the population in them is not kept up to its uſual ſtandard, and that we conſtantly find there a greater number of deaths than births. Happily for us this decreaſe has not yet penetrated into the country, where the

conſtant practice of making up the deficiency of the towns gives a little more ſcope for population. But the lands being every where occupied, and let at the higheſt rate, thoſe who cannot acquire property of their own, are hired by thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of it. Competition, which ariſes from the multitude of workmen, lowers the price of labour, and the ſmallneſs of profit takes away the deſire and the hope of, as well as the abilities requiſite for, increaſe by marriage. Such is the preſent ſtate of Europe.

That of America preſents an appearance of a quite contrary nature. Tracts of land, waſte and uncultivated, are either given away, or may be obtained for ſo moderate a price, that a man of the leaſt turn for labour is furniſhed in a ſhort time with an extent, which, while it is ſufficient to rear a numerous family, will maintain his poſterity for a conſiderable time. The inhabitants, therefore, of the New World, marry in greater numbers, and at an earlier time of life, than the inhabitants of Europe. Where one hundred enter into the married ſtate in Europe, there are two hundred in America; and if we reckon four children to each marriage in our climates, we ſhould allow at leaſt eight in the New Hemiſphere. If we multiply theſe families by their produce, it will appear, that, in leſs than two centuries, North America will arrive at an immenſe degree of population, unleſs its natural progreſs ſhould be impeded by obſtacles which it is not poſſible to foreſee.

Manners prevailing at preſent in North America.

It is now peopled with healthy and robuſt men, of a ſtature above the common ſize. Theſe Creoles come to their full growth ſooner than the Europeans, but do not live ſo long. The inhabitants are ſupplied with great plenty of every thing requiſite for food, by the low price of meat, fiſh, grain, game, fruits, cyder, and vegetables. Clothing is not ſo eaſily procured, that being ſtill very dear, whether it be brought from Europe or made in the country. Manners are in the ſtate they ſhould be among young colonies, and people given to cultivation, who are not yet poliſhed nor

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corrupted by reſiding in great cities. Throughout the families in general, there reigns economy, neatneſs, and regularity. Gallantry and gaming, the paſſions of indolent opulence, ſeldom interrupt that happy tranquillity. The female ſex are ſtill what they ſhould be, gentle, modeſt, compaſſionate, and uſeful; they are in poſſeſſion of thoſe virtues which perpetuate the empire of their charms. The men are engaged in their firſt occupations, the care and improvement of their plantations, which will be the ſupport of their poſterity. One general ſentiment of benevolence unites every family. Nothing contributes to this union ſo much as a certain equality of ſtation, a ſecurity that ariſes from property, hope, and a general facility of increaſing it; in a word, nothing contributes to it ſo much as the reciprocal independence in which all men live, with reſpect to their wants, joined to the neceſſity of ſocial connections for the purpoſes of their pleaſures. Inſtead of luxury, which brings miſery in its train, inſtead of this afflicting and ſhocking contraſt, an univerſal eaſe, wiſely dealt out in the original diſtribution of the lands, has, by the influence of induſtry, given riſe in every breaſt to the mutual deſire of pleaſing; a deſire, without doubt, more ſatisfactory than the ſecret diſpoſition to injure our brethren, which is inſeparable from an extreme inequality of fortune and condition. Men never meet without ſatisfaction, when they are neither in that ſtate of mutual diſtance which leads to indifference, nor in that way of rivalſhip which borders on hatred. They come nearer together and unite in ſocieties; in ſhort, it is in the colonies that men lead ſuch a rural life as was the original deſtination of mankind, beſt ſuited to the health and increaſe of the ſpecies: probably they enjoy all the happineſs conſiſtent with the frailty of human nature. We do not, indeed, find there thoſe graces, thoſe talents, thoſe refined enjoyments, the means and expence of which wear out and fatigue the ſprings of the ſoul, and bring on the vapours of melancholy, which ſo naturally follow the diſguſt ariſing

from ſenſual enjoyment; but there are the pleaſures of domeſtic life, the mutual attachments of parents and children, and conjugal love, that paſſion ſo pure and ſo delicious to the ſoul that can taſte it, and deſpiſe all other gratifications. This is the inchanting proſpect exhibited throughout North America. It is in the wilds of Florida and Virginia, even in the foreſts of Canada, that men are enabled to continue to love, during their whole life, what was the object of their firſt affection, that innocence and virtue, which never entirely loſe their beauty. BOOK XVIII.

If there be any circumſtance wanting to the happineſs of Britiſh America, it is that of forming one entire nation. Families are there found ſometimes reunited, ſometimes diſperſed, originating from all the different countries of Europe. Theſe coloniſts, in whatever ſpot chance or diſcernment may have placed them, all preſerve, with a prejudice not to be worn out, their mother-tongue, the partialities and the cuſtoms of their own country. Separate ſchools and churches hinder them from mixing with the hoſpitable people who afforded them a place of refuge. Still more eſtranged from this people by worſhip, by manners, and probably by their feelings, they harbour ſeeds of diſſenſion that may one day prove the ruin and total overthrow of the colonies. The only preſervative againſt this diſaſter depends entirely on the conduct of the governments they belong to.

Nature of the governments eſtabliſhed in North America.

By governments muſt not be underſtood thoſe ſtrange conſtitutions of Europe, which are an abſurd mixture of ſacred and profane laws. Engliſh America was wiſe or happy enough not to admit any eccleſiaſtical power: being from the beginning inhabited by Preſbyterians, ſhe rejected with horror every thing that might revive the idea of it. All affair which in the other parts of the globe are determined by the eccleſiaſtical courts, are here brought before the civil magiſtrate, or the national aſſemblies. The attempts made by the members of the Engliſh church to eſtabliſh their hierarchy in that country, have ever

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been abortive, notwithſtanding the ſupport given them by the mother-country: but ſtill they are equally concerned in the adminiſtration as well as thoſe of other ſects. None but Catholics have been excluded, on account of their refuſing thoſe oaths which the public tranquillity ſeemed to require. In this view American government has deſerved the greateſt commendation; but in other reſpects it is not ſo well regulated.

Policy, in its aim and principal object, reſembles the education of children. They both tend to form men, and ſhould be in ſeveral reſpects ſimilar to each other. Savage people, firſt united in ſociety, require, as much as children, to be ſometimes led on by gentle means, and ſometimes reſtrained by compulſion. For want of experience, which alone forms our reaſon, as theſe ſavages are incapable of governing themſelves in the ſeveral changes of things and the various concerns that belong to a riſing ſociety, the government that conducts them ſhould itſelf be enlightened, and guide them by authority to years of maturity. Thus it is that barbarous nations are naturally ſubject to the oppreſſive yoke of deſpotic power, till in the advanced ſtate of ſociety their intereſts teach them to connect themſelves.

Civilized nations, like young men, more or leſs advanced, not in proportion to their abilities, but from the conduct of their early education, as ſoon as they become ſenſible of their own ſtrength and right, require to be managed, and even attended to by their governors. A ſon well educated ſhould engage in no undertaking without conſulting his father: a prince, on the contrary, ſhould make no regulations without conſulting his people: further, the ſon, in reſolutions where he follows the advice of his father, frequently hazards nothing but his own happineſs: in all that a prince ordains, the happineſs of his people is concerned. The opinion of the public, in a nation that thinks and ſpeaks, is the rule of the government; and the prince ſhould never thwart that opinion without public reaſons, nor oppoſe it without having firſt convin-

ceed the people of their error. Government is to model all its forms according to public opinion: this, it is well known, varies with manners, habits, and information. So that one prince may, without finding the leaſt reſiſtance, do an act of authority, not to be revived by his ſucceſſor, without exciting the public indignation. From whence does this difference ariſe? The firſt cannot have thwarted an opinion that was not ſprung up in his time, but the latter may have openly counteracted it a century after. The firſt, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, may, without the knowledge of the public, have taken a ſtep, the violence of which he may have ſoftened or made amends for by the happy ſucceſs of his government; the other ſhall, perhaps, have increaſed the public calamities by ſuch unjuſt acts of wilful authority, as may perpetuate its firſt abuſes. Public remonſtrance is generally the reſult of opinion; and the general opinion is the rule of government: and becauſe the public opinion governs mankind, kings, for this reaſon, become the rulers of men. Governments then, as well as opinions, ought to improve and advance to perfection. But what is the rule for opinions among an enlightened people? It is the permanent intereſt of ſociety, the ſafety and advantage of the nation. This intereſt is modified by the turn of events and ſituations; public opinion and the form of the government follow theſe ſeveral modifications. This is the ſource of all the forms of government eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh, who are rational and free, throughout North America.

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The government of Nova Scotia, of one of the provinces in New England, New York, New Jerſey, Virginia the two Carolinas, and Georgia, is ſtyled royal, becauſe the king of England is there inveſted with the ſupreme authority. Repreſentatives of the people form a houſe of commons, as in the mother-country: a ſelect council, approved by the king, intended to ſupport the prerogatives of the crown, repreſents the houſe of peers, and maintains that repreſentation by the fortune and rank of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons

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in the country, who are members of it. A governor convenes, prorogues, and diſſolves their aſſemblies; gives or refuſes aſſent to their deliberations, which receive from his approbation the force of law, till the king, to whom they are tranſmitted, has rejected them.

The ſecond kind of government which takes place in the colonies, is known by the name of proprietary government. When the Engliſh firſt ſettled on thoſe diſtant regions, a rapacious and active court-favourite eaſily obtained in thoſe waſtes, which were as large as kingdoms, a property and authority without bounds. A bow and a few ſkins, the only homage exacted by the crown, purchaſed for a man in power the right of ſovereignty, or of governing at pleaſure in an unknown country: ſuch was the origin of government in the greater part of the colonies. At preſent, Maryland and Pennſylvania are the only provinces under this ſingular form of government, or rather this ſingular foundation of ſovereignty. Maryland, indeed, differs from the reſt of the provinces only by receiving its governor from the family of Baltimore, whoſe nomination is to be approved by the king. In Pennſylvania, the governor named by the proprietary family, and confirmed by the crown, is not ſupported by a council, which gives a kind of ſuperiority, and he is obliged to agree with the commons, in whom is naturally veſted all authority.

A third form, ſtyled by the Engliſh charter government, ſeems more calculated to produce harmony in the conſtitution. At preſent this ſubſiſts only in Connecticut and Rhode Iſland; but it was formerly extended to all the provinces in New England. It may be conſidered as a mere democracy. The inhabitants of themſelves elect and depoſe all their officers, and make whatever laws they think proper, without being obliged to have the aſſent of the king, or his having any right to annul them.

At length the conqueſt of Canada, joined to the acquiſition of Florida, has given riſe to a form of legiſlation hitherto unknown throughout the realm of

Great Britain. Thoſe provinces have been put or left under the yoke of military, and conſequently abſolute authority. Without any right to aſſemble in a national body, they receive immediately from the court of London every order of government. BOOK XVIII.

This diverſity of governments is not the work of the mother-country. We do not find in it the traces of a reaſonable, uniform, and regular legiſlation. It is chance, climate, the prejudices of the times, and of the founders of the colonies, that have produced this motley variety of conſtitutions. It is not the province of men, who are caſt by chance upon a deſert coaſt, to conſtitute legiſlation.

All legiſlation, in its nature, ſhould aim at the happineſs of ſociety. The means by which it is to attain this great end, depend entirely on its natural qualities. Climate, that is to ſay, the ſky and the ſoil, are the firſt rule for the legiſlator. His reſources dictate to him his duties. In the firſt inſtance, the local poſition ſhould be conſulted. A number of people thrown on a maritime coaſt, will have laws more or leſs relative to agriculture or navigation, in proportion to the influence the ſea or land may have on the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants who are to people that deſert coaſt. If the new colony be led by the courſe of ſome large river far within land, a legiſlator ought to have regard to the quality of the ſoil and the degree of its fertility, as well as to the connections the colony will have either at home or abroad by the traffic of commodities moſt conducive to its proſperity.

But the wiſdom of legiſlation will chiefly appear in the diſtribution of property. It is a general rule, which obtains in all countries, that, when a colony is founded, an extent of land be given to every perſon ſufficient for the maintenance of a family: more ſhould be given to thoſe who have abilities to make the neceſſary advances towards improvement; and ſome ſhould be reſerved for poſterity, or for additional ſettlers, with which the colony may in time be augmented.

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The firſt object of a riſing colony is ſubſiſtence and population: the next is the proſperity likely to flow from theſe two ſources. To avoid occaſions of war, whether offenſive or defenſive; to turn induſtry towards thoſe objects which are moſt advantageous; not to form connections around them, except ſuch as are unavoidable, and may be proportioned to the ſtability which the colony acquires by the numbers of its inhabitants and the nature of its reſources; to introduce, above all things, a partial and local ſpirit in a nation which is going to be eſtabliſhed, a ſpirit of union within, and of peace without; to refer every inſtitution to a diſtant but fixed point; and to make every occaſional law ſubſervient to the ſettled regulation which alone is to effect an increaſe of numbers, and to give ſtability to the ſettlement: theſe circumſtances make no more than a ſketch of a legiſlation.

The moral ſyſtem is to be formed on the nature of the climate; a large field for population is at firſt to be laid open by facilitating marriage, which depends upon the facility of procuring ſubſiſtence. Sanctity of manners ſhould be eſtabliſhed by opinion. In a barbarous iſland, which is to be ſtocked with children, no more would be neceſſary than to leave the principles of truth to unfold themſelves with the natural progreſs of reaſon. By proper precautions againſt thoſe idle fears which proceed from ignorance, the errors of ſuperſtition ſhould be removed, till that period when the warmth of the natural paſſions, fortunately uniting with the rational powers, diſſipates every phantom. But when people already advanced in life are to be eſtabliſhed in a new country, the ability of legiſlation conſiſts in removing every injurious opinion or habit which may be cured or corrected. If we wiſh that theſe ſhould not be tranſmitted to poſterity, we ſhould attend to the ſecond generation, by inſtituting a general and public education of the children. A prince or legiſlator ſhould never found a colony, without previouſly ſending thither ſome proper perſons for the education of youth; that is, ſome go-

vernors rather than teachers: for it is of leſs moment to teach them what is good, than to guard them from evil. Good education is ineffectual, when the people are already corrupted. The ſeeds of morality and virtue, ſown in the infant ſtate of a generation already vitiated, are annihilated in the early ſtages of manhood by debauchery, and the contagion of ſuch vices as have already become habitual in ſociety. The beſt educated young men cannot come into the world without making engagements and forming connections, which will wholly influence them during the remainder of their lives. If they marry, follow any profeſſion or purſuit, they find the ſeeds of evil and corruption rooted in every condition; a conduct entirely oppoſite to their principles; example and diſcourſe which diſconcerts and combats their beſt reſolutions.

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But in a riſing colony, the influence of the firſt generation may be corrected by the manners of the ſucceeding one. The minds of all are prepared for virtue by labour. The neceſſities of life remove all vices proceeding from want of employment. The overflowing of its population hath a natural tendency towards the mother-country, where luxury continually invites and ſeduces the rich and voluptuous planter. A legiſlator, who intends to refine the conſtitution and manners of a colony, will meet with every aſſiſtance he can require. If he be only poſſeſſed of abilities and virtue, the lands and the people he has to manage will ſuggeſt to his mind a plan of ſociety, that a writer can only mark out in a vague manner, liable to all the uncertainty of hypotheſes that are varied and complicated by an infinity of circumſtances too difficult to be foreſeen and combined.

But the chief baſis of a ſociety for cultivation or commerce, is property. It is the ſeed of good and evil natural or moral, conſequent on the ſocial ſtate. Every nation ſeems to be divided into two irreconcileable parties. The rich and the poor, the men of property and the hirelings, that is to ſay, maſters and

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ſlaves, form two claſſes of citizens, unfortunately, in oppoſition to one another. In vain have ſome modern authors wiſhed by ſophiſtry to eſtabliſh a treaty of peace between theſe two ſtates. The rich on all occaſions are diſpoſed to obtain a great deal from the poor at little expence, and the poor are ever inclined to ſet too high a value on their labour; while the rich man muſt always give the law in this too unequal bargain. Hence ariſes the ſyſtem of counterpoiſe eſtabliſhed in ſo many countries. The people have not wiſhed to attack property which they conſidered as ſacred, but they have made attempts to fetter it, and to check its natural tendency to univerſal power. Theſe counterpoiſes have almoſt always been ill applied, as they were but a feeble remedy againſt the original evil in ſociety. It is then to the repartition of lands that a legiſlator will turn his principal attention. The more wiſely that diſtribution ſhall be managed, the more ſimple, uniform, and exact, will be thoſe laws of the country which chiefly conduce to the preſervation of property.

The Engliſh colonies partake, in this reſpect, of the radical vice inherent in the ancient conſtitution of the mother-country. As its preſent government is but a reformation of that feudal ſyſtem which had oppreſſed all Europe, it ſtill retains many uſages, which being originally nothing more than abuſes of ſervitude, are ſtill more ſenſibly felt by their contraſt with the liberty which the people have recovered. It has, therefore, been found neceſſary to join the laws which left many rights to the nobility, to thoſe which modify, lessen, abrogate, or ſoften the feudal rights. Hence ſo many laws of exception for one original law; ſo many of interpretation for one fundamental; ſo many new laws that are at variance with the old. Hence it is agreed, there is not in the whole world a code ſo diffuſe, ſo perplexed, as that of the civil law of Great Britain. The wiſeſt men of that enlightened nation have often exclaimed againſt this diſorder. They have either not been heard, or the changes which have been produced

by their remonſtrances have only ſerved to increaſe the confuſion.

By their dependence and their ignorance, the colonies have blindly adopted that deformed and ill-digeſted code, the burden of which oppreſſed their anceſtors: they have added to that obſcure heap of materials by every new law that the times, manners, and place could introduce. From this mixture has reſulted a chaos the moſt difficult to put in order; a collection of contradictions that requires much pains to reconcile. Immediately there ſprang up a numerous body of lawyers, to prey upon the lands and inhabitants of thoſe new ſettled climates. The fortune and influence they have acquired in a ſhort time, have brought into ſubjection to their rapaciouſneſs the valuable claſs of citizens employed in agriculture, commerce, in all the arts and labours moſt indiſpenſably neceſſary for every ſociety, but almoſt ſingularly eſſential to a riſing community. To the ſevere evil of chicane, which has fixed itſelf on the branches, in order to ſeize on the fruit, has ſucceeded that of finance, which deſtroys the heart and the root of the tree.

The coin that has been current in the Engliſh colonies in North America.

In the origin of the colonies, the coin bore the ſame value as in the mother-country. The ſcarcity of it ſoon occaſioned a riſe of one-third. That inconvenience was not remedied by the abundance of ſpecie which came from the Spaniſh colonies; becauſe it was neceſſary to tranſmit that into England in order to pay for the merchandiſe wanted from thence. This was a gulf that abſorbed the circulation in the colonies. It was, however, neceſſary to eſtabliſh a mode of exchange; and every province, except Virginia, ſought for it in the creation of a paper currency.

The general government made at firſt but a moderate uſe of this expedient; but the diſputes of the ſavages increaſing, as well as the wars againſt Canada, occaſioned men of an enterpriſing ſpirit to form complicated and extenſive projects; and the management of the public treaſury was intruſted to rapacious or unſkilful hands. This reſource was then more freely

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employed than was proper. In vain were taxes levied at firſt, in order to pay the intereſt of the paper, and and to take up the paper itſelf at a ſtipulated period. New debts were contracted to ſatisfy freſh wants, and engagements were generally carried beyond all exceſs. In Pennſylvania alone, the paper currency of the ſtate preſerved unremittingly its entire value. The credit of it was ſhaken in two or three other colonies, though it was not entirely loſt. But in the two Carolinas, and in the four provices which conſtitute what is commonly called New England, it fell into ſuch diſcredit from the multiplicity of it, that it could no longer be circulated at any rate. Maſſachuſet's Bay, which had conquered Cape Breton from the French, received from the mother-country 4,050,000 livres [168,750l.] of indemnification. With this ſum they paid off twelve times the value in their paper, and thoſe who received the money thought they had made a very good bargain. The parliament, aware of this miſchief, made ſome attempts to remedy it; but their meaſures were only very imperfectly ſucceſsful. It would certainly have been a more effectual ſtep, than any of thoſe which had been invented by either a good or bad policy, to have broken the fetters with which the internal induſtry, and the external commerce, of ſo many great ſettlements were ſhackled.

Regulations to which the internal induſtry and the external trade of North America had been ſubjected.

The firſt coloniſts who peopled North America applied themſelves ſolely to agriculture. They ſoon perceived that their exports did not enable them to buy what they wanted, and they therefore found themſelves in a manner compelled to ſet up ſome rude manufactures. The intereſts of the mother-country ſeemed to be affected by this innovation; which was made a matter of parliamentary inquiry, and diſcuſſed with all the attention it deſerved. There were men bold enough to defend the cauſe of the coloniſts. They urged, that as the buſineſs of tillage did not employ men all the year, it was tyranny to oblige them to waſte in idleneſs the time which the land did not require: that as the produce of agriculture and hunt-

ing did not furniſh them to the extent of their wants, the preventing them from providing againſt them by a new ſpecies of induſtry, was in fact reducing them to the greateſt diſtreſs: in a word, that the prohibition of manufactures only tended to enhance the price of all proviſions in a riſing ſtate, to leſſen, or, perhaps, ſtop the ſale of them, and to deter ſuch perſons as might intend to ſettle in it. BOOK XVIII.

The evidence of theſe principles was not to be controverted: they were complied with after great debates. The Americans were permitted to manufacture their own clothes themſelves, but with ſuch reſtrictions as betrayed how much avarice regretted, what an appearance of juſtice could not but allow. All communication from one province to another on this account was ſeverely prohibited. They were forbidden, under the heavieſt penalties, to traffic with each other for wool of any ſort, raw or manufactured. However, ſome manufacturers of hats ventured to break through theſe reſtrictions. To put a ſtop to what was termed a heinous diſorderly practice, the parliament had recourſe to the mean and cruel expedient of law. A workman was not at liberty to ſet up for himſelf till after ſeven years apprenticeſhip; a maſter was not allowed to have more than two apprentices at a time, nor to employ any ſlave in his work-ſhop.

Iron mines, which ſeem to put into men's hands the inſtruments of their own independence, were laid under reſtrictions ſtill more ſevere. It was not allowed to carry iron in bars, or rough pieces anywhere but to the mother-country. Without being provided with crucibles to melt it or machines to bend it, without hammers or anvils to faſhion it, they had ſtill leſs liberty of converting it into ſteel.

Importation was ſubjected to ſtill further reſtraints. All foreign veſſels, unleſs in evident diſtreſs or danger of wreck, or freighted with gold or ſilver, were not to come into any of the ports of North America. Even Engliſh veſſels were not admitted there, unleſs

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they came immediately from ſome port of the country. The ſhips of the colonies going to Europe, were to bring back no merchandiſe but from the mother-country. Every thing was included in this proſcription, except wine from the Madeiras, the Azores, and the Canaries, and ſalt for the fiſheries.

All exportations were originally to terminate in England; but important reaſons determined the government to relax and abate this extreme ſeverity. The coloniſts were allowed to carry directly ſouth of Cape Finiſterre, grain, meal, rice, vegetables, fruit, ſalt fiſh, planks, and timber. All other productions were reſerved for the mother-country. Even Ireland, which afforded an advantageous mart for corn, flax, and pipe-ſtaves, has been ſhut againſt them by an act of parliament.

The parliament, which repreſents the nation, aſſumed the right of directing commerce in its whole extent throughout the Britiſh dominions. It is by this authority it pretends to regulate the connections between the mother-country and the colonies, to maintain a communication, an advantageous reciprocal re-action between the ſcattered parts of an immenſe empire. There ſhould, in fact, be one power to appeal to, in order to determine finally upon the concerns that may be uſeful or prejudicial to the general good of the whole ſociety. The parliament is the only body that can aſſume ſuch an important power. But it ought to employ it to the advantage of every member of ſociety. This is an inviolable maxim, eſpecially in a ſtate where all the powers are formed and directed for the preſervation of national liberty.

That principle of impartiality was unattended to, which alone can maintain an equal ſtate of independence among the ſeveral members of a free government; when the colonies were obliged to vent in the mother-country all their productions, even thoſe which were not for their own conſumption; when they were obliged to take from the mother-country all kinds of merchandiſe, even thoſe which came from foreign nations. This imperious and uſeleſs reſtraint, loading

the ſales and purchaſes of the Americans with unneceſſary and ruinous charges, has neceſſarily leſſened their induſtry, and conſequently diminiſhed their profits; and it has been only for the purpoſe of enriching a few merchants, or ſome factors at home, that the rights and intereſts of the colonies have thus been ſacrificed. All they owed to England for the protection they received from her, was only a preference in the ſale and importation of all ſuch of their commodities as ſhe ſhould conſume; and a preference in the purchaſe and in the exportation of all ſuch merchandiſe as came from her hands: ſo far all ſubmiſſion was a return of gratitude; beyond it all obligation was violence.

Thus it is that tyranny has given birth to contraband trade. Tranſgreſſion is the firſt effect produced by unreaſonable laws. In vain has it frequently been repeated to the colonies, that ſmuggling was contrary to the fundamental intereſt of their ſettlements, to all reaſon of government, and to the expreſs intentions of law. In vain has it been continually laid down in public writings, that the ſubject who pays duty is oppreſſed by him who does not pay it; and that the fraudulent merchant robs the fair trader by diſappointing him of his lawful profit. In vain have precautions been multiplied for preventing ſuch frauds, and freſh penalties inflicted for the puniſhment of them. The voice of intereſt, reaſon and equity, has prevailed over all the numberleſs clamours and various attempts of finance. Foreign importations ſmuggled into North America, amount to one-third of thoſe which pay duty.

An indefinite liberty, or merely reſtrained within proper limits, would have put a ſtop to the prohibited engagements of which ſo much complaint had been made. Then the colonies would have arrived to a ſtate of affluence, which would have enabled them to diſcharge a load of debt due to the mother-country, amounting to one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and thirty millions of livres [from 5,000,000l.

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to 5,416,666l. 13s. 4d.]. They would then have drawn from thence annually goods to the amount of forty-five millions of livres [1,875,000l.], the ſum to which their wants had been raiſed in the moſt ſucceſsful periods. But inſtead of having their deſtiny alleviated, as they were inceſſantly demanding, theſe great ſettlements ſaw themſelves threatened with a tax.

Diſtreſſed ſtate of England in 1763.

England had juſt emerged from a long and bloody war, during which her fleets had been victorious in all the ſeas, and her conqueſts had enlarged her dominions, already too extenſive, with an immenſe acquiſition of territory in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. This ſplendour might perhaps externally dazzle the nations; but the country was continually obliged to lament its acquiſitions and its triumphs. Oppreſſed with a load of debt to the amount of 3,330,000,000 of livres [138,750,000l.], that coſt her an intereſt of 111,577,490 livres [4,649,062l. 1s. 8d.] a year; ſhe was ſcarce able to ſupport the neceſſary expences of the ſtate, with a revenue of 130,000,000 of livres [5,416,666l. 13s. 4d.]; and that revenue was ſo far from increaſing, that it was not even certain it would continue.

The lands were charged with a heavier tax than had ever been impoſed in time of peace. New duties were laid on houſes and windows; and the controul of the acts was oppreſſive on all kinds of property. Wine, plate, cards, dice, and every thing which was conſidered as an object of luxury or amuſement, paid more than it could have been thought poſſible. To compenſate for the ſacrifice which had been made for the preſervation of the citizens, by prohibiting ſpirituous liquors, duties were laid on the ordinary drink of the common people, on malt, cyder, and beer. The ports diſpatched nothing for foreign kingdoms, and received nothing from them, but what was loaded with duties, both of export and import. Materials and workmanſhip had ſo prodigiouſly riſen in price in Great Britain, that her merchants were ſupplanted even in the countries where they had not till then

met with any competitors. The commercial profits of England with every part of the world, did not amount annually to more than 56,000,000 livres [2,333,333l. 6s. 8d.]; but of this balance 35,000,000 livres [1,458,333l. 6s. 8d.] were to be deducted, to pay the arrears of the ſums which foreigners had placed in the public funds.

The ſprings of the ſtate were all ſtrained. The muſcles of the body politic being in a ſtate of extreme tenſion, were in ſome meaſure thrown out of their place. The criſis was a violent one. The people ſhould have been allowed time to recover. They could not be eaſed by a diminution of expences; for thoſe made by government were neceſſary, either for the purpoſe of improving the conqueſts, purchaſed at the price of ſo much blood and treaſure, or to reſtrain the reſentment of the houſe of Bourbon, irritated by the humiliations of the late war and the ſacrifices of the late peace. As other means did not occur, which might ſecure the preſent as well as future proſperity of the nation, it was thought proper to call in the colonies to the aid of the mother-country. Theſe views were prudent and juſt.

England calls its colonies to its aſſiſtance.

The members of a confederate body muſt all of them contribute to its defence and its ſplendour, in proportion to their reſpective abilities; as it is only by public ſtrength that each claſs is enabled to preſerve the entire and peaceful enjoyments of its poſſeſſions. The poor are certainly leſs intereſted in this than the wealthy; but yet their tranquillity is concerned in it, in the firſt place, and in the ſecond place, the national riches, which they are called upon to ſhare by their induſtry. There can be no ſocial principle more evident, and yet the infringement of it is the moſt ordinary of all political faults. From whence can ariſe this perpetual contradiction between the conviction and the conduct of government?

It ariſes from the fault of the legiſlative power, in exaggerating the means for maintaining the public ſtrength, and in employing for its own caprices part

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of the funds deſtined for this purpoſe. The wealth of the merchant and of the farmer, and the ſubſiſtence of the poor, taken from them in the country places and in the towns in the name of the ſtate, and proſtituted in the courts to the purpoſes of intereſt and vice, are employed to increaſe the pomp of a number of men, who flatter, deteſt, and corrupt their maſter; or paſs into ſtill baſer hands than theſe, to pay for the ſcandal and ſhame of his pleaſures. Theſe treaſures are laviſhed for a parade of grandeur, the vain decoration of thoſe who can have no real grandeur; and for feſtivals, the reſource of idleneſs, unable to exert itſelf, in the midſt of the cares and labours which the government of an empire would require. A portion of them, it is true, is given to the public wants: but theſe, from incapacity or inattention, are applied without judgment as without economy. Authority deceived, and diſdaining even to endeavour to be otherwiſe, admits of an unjuſt diſtribution of the tax, and of a mode of collecting it, which is itſelf an additional oppreſſion. Then every patriotic ſentiment becomes extinct. A war is excited between the prince and his ſubjects. Thoſe who levy the revenues of the ſtate, appear nothing but the enemies of the citizen. He defends his fortune from the impoſt, as he would defend it from encroachment. Every thing which cunning can take from power appears a lawful gain; and the ſubjects, corrupted by the government, make uſe of the repriſals againſt a maſter who plunders them. They do not perceive that, in this unequal conflict, they are themſelves both dupes and victims. The inſatiable and eager treaſury, leſs ſatisfied with what is given to them than irritated for what is refuſed, perſecutes every individual delinquent by a variety of means. They join activity to intereſt; and vexations are multiplied. They go under the denomination of puniſhment and juſtice; and the monſter, who reduces to poverty all thoſe whom he proſecutes, returns thanks to Heaven for the number of culprits whom he puniſhes, and for the multiplicity of offences by which

he enriches himſelf. Happy is the ſovereign who, to prevent ſo many abuſes, would not diſdain to give his people an exact account of the manner in which all the ſums he had required of them were employed. But this ſovereign hath not yet appeared; nor indeed will he ever appear. Nevertheleſs, the debt due by the protected perſon to the ſtate which protects him, is equally neceſſary and ſacred; and has been acknowledged by all people. The Engliſh colonies of North America had not diſavowed this obligation; and the Britiſh miniſtry had never applied to them without obtaining the aſſiſtance they ſolicited.

But theſe were gifts and not taxes, ſince the grant was preceded by free and public deliberations in the aſſemblies of each ſettlement. The mother-country had been engaged in expenſive and cruel wars. Tumultuous and enterpriſing parliaments had diſturbed its tranquillity. It had a ſet of bold and corrupt miniſters, unfortunately inclined to raiſe the authority of the throne on the ruin of all the powers and all the rights of the people. Revolutions had ſucceeded each other, while the idea had never ſuggeſted itſelf, of attacking a cuſtom, confirmed by two centuries of fortunate experience.

The provinces of the New World were accuſtomed to conſider as a right this mode of furniſhing their contingent in men and money. Whether this claim had been doubtful or erroneous, prudence would have required that it ſhould not have been too openly attacked. The art of maintaining authority is a delicate one, which requires more circumſpection than is generally thought. Thoſe, who govern are perhaps too much accuſtomed to deſpiſe men. They conſider them as ſlaves, bowed down by nature, whereas they are only ſo by habit. If they be oppreſſed with a freſh weight, take care leſt they ſhould riſe up again with fury. Let it not be forgotten, that the lever of power hath no other ſupport but that of opinion; and that the ſtrength of thoſe who govern is really nothing more than the ſtrength of thoſe who ſuffer themſelves

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to be governed. Let not the people, who are diverted by their employments, or who ſleep in their chains, be inſtructed to pry into truths which are too formidable for government; and when they obey, let them not be made to recollect that they have the right to command. As ſoon as the inſtant of this terrible alarm ſhall arrive; as ſoon as they ſhall think that they are not made for their chiefs, but that their chiefs are made for them; as ſoon as they ſhall have been able to collect together, and to hear each other unanimouſly exclaim, *We will not have this law, the cuſtom is diſpleaſing to us;* there is then no alternative left, but either to ſubmit or to puniſh, to be weak or to be tyrants; and from that time the authority of government being deteſted or deſpiſed, whatever meaſures they may take, they will have nothing to expect from the people but open inſolence or concealed hatred.

The firſt duty of a prudent adminiſtration is, therefore, to reſpect the prevailing opinions of a country; for opinions are the kind of property to which the people are more attached than even to that of their fortune. It may, indeed, endeavour to rectify them by knowledge, or alter them by perſuaſion, if they ſhould be prejudicial to the ſtrength of the ſtate. But it is not allowable to contradict them without neceſſity; and there never was any to reject the ſyſtem adopted by North America.

In fact, whether the ſeveral countries of the New World were authoriſed, as they wiſhed to do, to ſend repreſentatives to parliament, in order to deliberate with their fellow-citizens on the exigencies of the Britiſh empire; or whether they continued to examine within themſelves what contribution it was convenient for them to grant; the treaſury could not have experienced any embarraſſment from either of theſe modes. In the firſt inſtance, the remonſtrances of their deputies would have been loſt in the multitude, and the provinces would have been legally charged with part of the burden intended for them to bear. In the ſecond, the miniſtry diſpoſing of the dignities, of the

employments, of the penſions, and even of the elections, would not have experienced more oppoſition to their will in the other hemiſphere, than they do in this.

But the maxims which were holden ſacred in America had ſome other foundation beſide prejudice. The people relied upon the nature of their charters; they relied ſtill more firmly upon the right which every Engliſh citizen hath, not to be taxed without his conſent, or that of his repreſentatives. This right, which ought to belong to all people, ſince it is founded on the eternal code of reaſon, was traced to its origin as far back as the reign of Edward I. Since that period, the Engliſh never loſt ſight of it. In peace and in war, under the dominion of ferocious kings, as well as under that of weak monarchs, in times of ſlavery as in periods of anarchy, they never ceaſed to claim it. The Engliſh, under the Tudors, were ſeen to abandon their moſt valuable rights, and to deliver up their defenceleſs heads to the ſtroke of the tyrant; but they were never ſeen to renounce the right of taxing themſelves. It was in defence of this right that they ſhed torrents of blood, that they dethroned or puniſhed their kings. Finally, at the revolution of 1688, this right was ſolemnly acknowledged by the famous act, in which Liberty, with the ſame hand that ſhe was expelling a deſpotic king, was drawing the conditions of the contract between the nation and the new ſovereign they had juſt choſen. This prerogative of the people, much more ſacred, undoubtedly, than ſo many imaginary rights which ſuperſtition hath endeavoured to ſanctify in tyrants, was at once in England the inſtrument and the bulwark of its liberty. The nation thought and perceived that this was the only dyke which could for ever put a ſtop to deſpotiſm; that the moment which deprives a people of this privilege condemns them to oppreſſion; and that the funds, raiſed apparently for their ſafety, are employed ſooner or later to ruin them. The Engliſh, when they founded their colonies, had carried theſe principles

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beyond the ſeas, and the ſame ideas were tranſmitted to their poſterity.

Alas! if in thoſe countries even of Europe, where ſlavery ſeems for a long time to have taken up its reſidence in the midſt of vices, of riches, and of the arts; where the deſpotiſm of armies maintains the deſpotiſm of courts; where man, fettered from his cradle, and bound by the twofold bands of ſuperſtition and policy, hath never breathed the air of liberty; if, even in thoſe countries, perſons who have reflected once in their lives on the deſtiny of ſtates, cannot avoid the adopting of theſe maxims, and envying the fortunate nation which hath contrived to make them the foundation and the baſis of its conſtitution; how much more muſt the Engliſh, the children of America, be attached to them; they who have received this intelligence from their anceſtors, and who know at what price they have purchaſed it? Even the ſoil they inhabit muſt keep up in them a ſentiment favourable to theſe ideas. Diſperſed over an immenſe continent, free as nature, which ſurrounds them, amidſt the rocks, the mountains, the vaſt plains of their deſerts, and on the ſkirts of thoſe foreſts where every thing is ſtill wild, and where nothing calls to mind neither the ſervitude nor the tyranny of man, they ſeem to receive from natural objects leſſons of liberty and independence. Beſides, theſe people, who are almoſt all of them devoted to agriculture, to commerce, and to uſeful labours, which elevate and ſtrengthen the mind by giving ſimplicity to the manners, who have been hitherto as far removed from riches as from poverty, cannot yet be corrupted either by an exceſs of luxury or by a multiplicity of wants. It is this ſtate more eſpecially, that man who enjoys liberty can maintain it, and can ſhow himſelf jealous of defending an hereditary right which ſeems to be the ſure guarantee of all the other rights. Such was the reſolution of the Americans.

England exacts from her colonies

Whether the Britiſh miniſtry were yet unacquainted with theſe diſpoſitions, or whether they hoped that

their delegates would ſucceed in altering them, they however embraced the opportunity of a glorious peace to exact a forced contribution from the colonies. For let it be well obſerved, that a war, whether fortunate or unfortunate, ſerves always as a pretence to the uſurpations of government, as if the views of the chiefs of the belligerent powers were leſs to conquer their enemies than to enſlave their ſubjects. The year 1764 gave birth to the famous ſtamp act, which forbade the admiſſion into the tribunals of any claim which had not been written upon paper ſtamped and ſold for the benefit of the treaſury.

what ſhe ought only to have aſked of them.

The Engliſh provinces of the North of America were all incenſed at this uſurpation of their moſt valuable and moſt ſacred rights. By unanimous conſent, they refuſed to conſume what was furniſhed them by the mother-country, till this illegal and oppreſſive bill was withdrawn. The women, whoſe weakneſs might have been feared, were the moſt eager in ſacrificing what ſerved for their ornament; and the men, animated by this example, gave up on their parts other enjoyments. Many cultivators quitted the plough, in order to accuſtom themſelves to the work of manufactures; and the woollen, linen, and cotton, coarſely wrought, were bought up at the price that was previouſly given for the fineſt cloths and moſt beautiful ſtuffs.

This kind of combination ſurpriſed the government, and their anxiety was increaſed by the clamours of the merchants, who found no market for their goods. Theſe diſcontents were ſupported by the enemies of the miniſtry; and the ſtamp act was repealed after two years of a commotion, which in other times would have kindled a civil war.

But the triumph of the colonies was of ſhort duration. The parliament, which had retracted only with extreme reluctance, ordained in 1767, that the revenue which they had not been able to obtain by means of the ſtamp, ſhould be collected by the glaſs, the lead, the paſteboard, the colours, the figured paper, and the

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tea, which were conveyed from England to America. The people of the northern continent were not leſs incenſed with this innovation than with the former. In vain was it repreſented to them, that no one could conteſt with Great Britain the power of ſettling upon her exports ſuch duties as were ſuitable to her intereſts; ſince ſhe did not deprive her eſtabliſhments beyond the ſeas of the liberty of manufacturing themſelves the commodities which were ſubjected to the new taxes. This ſubterfuge appeared a mark of deriſion to men, who, being merely cultivators, and compelled to have no communication except with the mother-country, could neither procure for themſelves by their own induſtry, nor by foreign connections, the articles that were taxed. Whether the tribute were paid in the Old or in the New World, they underſtood that the name made no alteration in the thing, and that their liberty would be no leſs attacked in this manner than it had been in the former, which had been repulſed with ſucceſs. The coloniſts ſaw clearly that the government meant to deceive them, and they would not be impoſed upon. Theſe political ſophiſms appeared to them as they really are, the maſk of tyranny.

Nations in general are more adapted to feel than to think. Moſt of them have never thought of analyzing the nature of the power which governs them. They obey without reflection, and becauſe they are in the habit of obeying. The origin and object of the firſt national aſſociations being unknown to them, every reſiſtance to their will appears to them a crime. It is chiefly in thoſe ſtates where the principles of legiſlation are blended with thoſe of religion, that this error was common. The habit of believing is favourable to the habit of ſuffering. Man doth not renounce with impunity one ſingle object. It ſeems as if Nature avenged herſelf of him who ventures thus to degrade her. This ſervile diſpoſition of the ſoul extends to every thing; it makes a duty of reſignation as of meanneſs, and reſpecting every chain that binds it, trembles to

enter into an examination of the laws as well as of the tenets. In the ſame manner as one ſingle extravagance in religious opinions is ſufficient to induce minds that are once deceived to adopt numberleſs others, ſo the firſt uſurpation of government opens the door to all the reſt. He who believes the moſt believes alſo the leaſt, and he who can exert the moſt power can exert alſo the leaſt. It is by this double abuſe of credulity and of authority, that all the abſurdities in matters of religion and politics have been introduced in the world to cruſh mankind. Accordingly, the firſt ſignal of liberty among the nations hath excited them to ſhake off theſe two yokes at once; and the period in which the human mind began to diſcuſs the abuſes of the church and of the clergy is that when reaſon became at length ſenſible of the rights of the people, and when courage endeavoured to fix the firſt limits to deſpotiſm. The principles of toleration and of liberty eſtabliſhed in the Engliſh colonies had made them a people very different from others. There it was known what the dignity of man was; and when it was violated by the Britiſh miniſtry, it neceſſarily followed, that a people, compoſed entirely of citizens, ſhould riſe againſt this attempt. BOOK XVIII.

Three years elapſed, and none of the taxes which had ſo much offended the Americans were yet levied. This was ſomething, but it was not all that was expected from men jealous of their prerogatives. They wanted a general and formal renunciation of what had been illegally ordained, and this ſatisfaction was granted to them in 1770. The tea only was excepted. The intent, indeed, of this reſerve, was merely to palliate the diſgrace of giving up entirely the ſuperiority of the mother-country over its colonies; for this duty was not more exacted than the others had been.

The miniſtry, deceived by their delegates, certainly imagined that the diſpoſitions of the people were altered in the New World, when in 1773 they ordered the tax on the tea to be levied. England, after having given way, wiſhes to be obeyed by its colonies.

At this news the indignation became general

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throughout North America. In ſome provinces, thanks were decreed to thoſe navigators who had refuſed to take any of this article on board. In others, the merchants to whom it was addreſſed refuſed to receive it. In one place, whoever ſold it was declared an enemy to his country; in another, the ſame mark of ignominy was beſtowed upon thoſe who ſhould keep it in their warehouſes. Several diſtricts ſolemnly renounced the uſe of this liquor, and a greater number of them burnt all the tea they had remaining, which had hitherto been in ſuch high eſtimation among them. The tea ſent to this part of the globe was valued at five or ſix millions of livres [from 208,333l. 6s. 8d. to 250,000l.], and not a ſingle cheſt of it was landed. Boſton was the chief ſcene of this inſurrection. Its inhabitants deſtroyed in the harbour three cargoes of tea, which had arrived from Europe.

Meaſures which they take to reſiſt its authority.

This great city had always appeared more attentive to their rights than the reſt of America. The leaſt attempt againſt their privileges was repulſed without diſcretion. This reſiſtance, ſometimes accompanied with troubles, had for ſome years paſt diſturbed the government. The miniſtry, who had ſome motives of revenge to gratify, too haſtily ſeized upon the circumſtance of this blameable exceſs, and demanded of the parliament a ſevere puniſhment.

Moderate people wiſhed that the guilty city ſhould be condemned to furniſh an indemnity proportioned to the damage done in its harbour, and which it deſerved for not having puniſhed this act of violence. This penalty was judged too ſlight; and on the 13th of March 1774, a bill was paſſed, which ſhut up the port of Boſton, and which forbade that any thing ſhould be carried there.

The court of London congratulated itſelf upon this rigorous law, and doubted not but that it would bring the Boſtonians to that ſpirit of ſervitude with which it had been hitherto attempted in vain to inſpire them. If, contrary to every appearance, theſe bold men ſhould perſevere in their pretenſions, their neighbours

would eagerly avail themſelves of the prohibition thrown upon the principal port of the colonies. At the worſt, the other colonies which had been for a long time jealous of that of Maſſachuſet's Bay, would abandon it with indifference to its melancholy fate, and would collect the immenſe trade which theſe miſfortunes would cauſe to flow in upon them. In this manner the union of the ſeveral ſettlements, which, in the opinion of the mother-country, had for ſome years paſt acquired too much conſiſtence, would be broken. BOOK XVIII.

The expectations of the miniſtry were in general fruſtrated. An act of rigour ſometimes ſtrikes awe. The people who have murmured while the ſtorm was only preparing at a diſtance, ſubmit when it comes to fall upon them. It is then that they weigh the advantages and diſadvantages of reſiſtance, that they meaſure their ſtrength with that of their oppreſſors: it is then that a panic terror ſeizes thoſe which have every thing to loſe, and nothing to gain; that they raiſe their voices, that they intimidate, and that they bribe; that diviſion is excited in the minds of men; and that ſociety is divided between two factions which irritate each other, which ſometimes take up arms and ſlay each other in the view of their tyrants, who behold with complacency and ſatisfaction the effuſion of their blood. But tyrants ſcarcely find any accomplices, unleſs among people already corrupt. It is vice which gives them confederates among thoſe whom they oppreſs. It is effeminacy which takes the alarm, and cannot venture to exchange its tranquillity for honourable dangers. It is the vile ambition of commanding which lends its aſſiſtance to deſpotiſm, and conſents to be a ſlave for the ſake of acquiring dominion, to give up a people in order to divide their ſpoils, and to renounce the ſenſe of honour in order to obtain honours and titles. It is eſpecially that indifferent and cold perſonality, the laſt of the crimes of the people, the laſt of the vices of governments; for it is government which always gives riſe to them; it is government which, from principle, ſacrifices a nation to a man, and

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the happineſs of a century and of poſterity to the enjoyment of a day and of a moment. All theſe vices, which are the fruits of an opulent and voluptuous ſociety, of a ſociety grown old and come to its laſt period, do not belong to recent people engaged in the toils of agriculture. The Americans remained united among themſelves. The carrying into execution a bill which they called inhuman, barbarous, and deſtructive, ſerved only to confirm them in the reſolution of ſupporting their rights with more unanimity and ſteadineſs.

The minds of men grew more and more exalted at Boſton. The cry of liberty was reinforced by that of religion. The churches reſounded with the moſt violent exhortations againſt England. It was undoubtedly an intereſting ſpectacle for philoſophy, to ſee that in the temples and at the feet of the altars, where ſuperſtition had ſo often bleſſed the chains of the people, where the prieſts had ſo often flattered the tyrants, that liberty ſhould raiſe its voice to defend the privileges of an oppreſſed nation; and if we believe that the Deity condeſcends to caſt an eye upon the unfortunate conteſts of mankind, it preferred certainly to ſee its ſanctuary conſecrated to this uſe, and to hear hymns to liberty become part of the worſhip addreſſed to it by its miniſters. Theſe diſcourſes muſt have produced a great effect; and when a free people invokes the aid of Heaven againſt oppreſſion, they ſoon have recourſe to arms.

The other inhabitants of Maſſachuſet's Bay diſdained even the idea of taking the leaſt advantage of the diſaſters of the capital. They thought of nothing but tightening the bands which connected them with the Boſtonians, and were inclined to bury themſelves under the ruins of their common country, rather than ſuffer the leaſt encroachment upon rights which they had learned to cheriſh more than life.

All the provinces attached themſelves to the cauſe of Boſton, and their attachment increaſed in proportion to the calamities and ſufferings of that unfortunate

city, being almoſt guilty of the ſame reſiſtance which had been ſo ſeverely puniſhed, they were ſenſible that the vengeance of the mother-country againſt them was only delayed, and that all the grace which the moſt favoured of them can poſſibly expect will be to be the laſt object of its revenge. BOOK XVIII.

Theſe diſpoſitions to a general inſurrection were increaſed by the act againſt Boſton, which was circulated throughout the continent upon paper edged with black, as an emblem of the mourning of liberty. Anxiety ſoon communicates from one houſe to another. The citizens aſſemble and converſe in the places. All the preſſes teem with writings full of eloquence and vigour.

" The ſeverities of the Britiſh parliament againſt " Boſton ought to make all the American provinces " tremble. They have now only to chooſe between " fire and the ſword, between the horrors of death " and the yoke of a ſervile and baſe obedience. The " period of an important revolution is at length ar- " rived, the fortunate or unfortunate ſucceſs of which " will for ever determine the regret or admiration of " poſterity.

" Shall we be free, or ſhall we be ſlaves? It is up- " on the ſolution of this great problem, that the de- " ſtiny of three millions of men will depend for the " preſent and for the future, the happineſs or miſery " of their numberleſs deſcendants.

" Rouſe yourſelves up, therefore, O you Americans! " for the regions you inhabit were never covered with " ſuch dreadful clouds: you are called rebels, becauſe " you will be taxed only by your repreſentatives. Juſ- " tify this claim by your courage, or ſeal the loſs of it " with your blood.

" It is no longer time to deliberate, when the hand " of the oppreſſor is inceſſantly at work in forging " chains for you; ſilence would be a crime, and in- " action infamy. The preſervation of the rights of " the republic, that is the ſupreme law. He would " be the loweſt of ſlaves, who, in the danger which

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"now threatens the liberty of America, would not "exert his utmoſt efforts to preſerve it."

Such was the general diſpoſition: but the moſt important object, and the moſt difficult matter to effect in the midſt of the general tumult, was to bring about a calm, by means of which a harmony of inclinations might be produced, which might give dignity, ſtrength, and conſiſtence to the reſolutions. It is this kind of harmony, which, from a number of looſe and ſcattered parts, all of them eaſily broken, compoſes one complete whole, which it is impoſſible to ſubdue, unleſs one can ſucceed in dividing it either by ſtrength or by policy. The neceſſity of this great union was perceived by the provinces of New Hampſhire, of Maſſachuſet's Bay, of Rhode Iſland, of Connecticut, of New York, of New Jerſey, of the three counties of the Delaware, of Pennſylvania, of Maryland, of Virginia, and of the two Carolinas. Theſe twelve colonies, to which Georgia hath ſince acceded, ſent deputies to Philadelphia in the month of September 1774, who were appointed to defend their rights and their intereſts.

The diſputes between the mother-country and its colonies acquired at this period a degree of importance which they had not had before. It was no more a few individuals who oppoſed a ſtubborn reſiſtance to imperious maſters. It was the ſtruggle between one body of men and another, between the congreſs of America and the parliament of England, between one nation and another. The reſolutions taken on each ſide inflamed the minds of men ſtill more and more, and increaſed the animoſity. Every hope of reconciliation was diſſipated. The ſword was drawn on both ſides; Great-Britain ſent troops into the New World, and this other hemiſphere prepared for its defence. Its citizens became ſoldiers. The materials for the conflagration are collected, and the fire will ſoon break out.

General Gage, who commanded the royal troops, ſent a detachment from Boſton on the night of the 18th of Auguſt 1775, with orders to deſtroy a magazine of arms and proviſions collected by the Americans.

at Concord. This detachment met with ſome militia at Lexington, whom they diſperſed without much difficulty, continued their march with rapidity, and executed the orders they had received. But they had ſcarcely reſumed the road to the capital, before they were aſſailed in a ſpace of fifteen miles by a furious multitude, whom they deſtroyed, and by whom they were alſo ſlain. The blood of Engliſhmen, ſo often ſpilt in England by the hands of Engliſhmen, was now ſpilt in America, and the civil war was begun. BOOK XVIII.

More regular engagements were fought upon the ſame field of battle in the enſuing months. Warren was the victim of theſe deſtructive and unnatural actions. The congreſs did honour to his remains.

"He is not dead," ſaid the orator; "this excellent "citizen ſhall not die. His memory will be eternally "preſent, eternally dear to all good men, to all lovers "of their country. He hath diſplayed, in the limited "career of a life of thirty-three years, the talents of "a ſtateſman, the virtues of a ſenator, and the ſoul of "a hero.

"All you who are animated with the ſame intereſt, "approach the bloody corpſe of Warren. Bathe his "honourable wounds with your tears; but do not re"main too long over this inanimate body. Return "to your habitations to inſpire a deteſtation of the "crime of tyranny. Let the hair of your children "ſtart upon their heads at this horrible repreſentation; "let their eyes ſparkle, let their brows become threa"tening, and let their voices expreſs their indignation; "then you will give them arms, and your laſt wiſh "will be, that they may either return conquerors, or "periſh like Warren."

The troubles with which Maſſachuſet's Bay was agitated were extended to the other provinces. The tranſactions were not, indeed, bloody in them, becauſe there were no Britiſh troops; but in all parts the Americans ſeized upon the forts, the arms, and the proviſions; they expelled their chiefs and the other agents of government, and ill-treated the inhabitants

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who appeared to favour the cauſe of the mother-country. Some enterpriſing men carried their boldneſs ſo far as to ſeize upon the works formerly erected by the French near lake Champlain, between New England and Canada, and even made an irruption into that vaſt region.

While private individuals, or ſeparate diſtricts, were ſo uſefully ſerving the common cauſe, the congreſs was employed in the care of aſſembling an army, the command of which was given to George Waſhington, a native of Virginia, and known by a few ſucceſsful actions in the preceding wars. The new general immediately flew to Maſſachuſet's Bay, drove the royal troops from one poſt to another, and compelled them to ſhut themſelves up in Boſton. Six thouſand of his old ſoldiers, who had eſcaped the ſword, ſickneſs, and every other kind of diſtreſs, preſſed either by hunger or by the enemy, embarked on the 24th of March 1776, with a precipitation which had all the appearance of flight. They went to ſeek an aſylum in Nova Scotia, which, as well as Florida, had remained faithful to its former maſters.

The colonies had a right to ſeparate themſelves from their mother-country, even if they had no cauſe of diſcontent.

This ſucceſs was the firſt ſtep of Engliſh America towards the revolution. It began to be openly wiſhed for, and the principles which juſtified it were univerſally diffuſed. Theſe principles, which originated in Europe, and particularly in England, had been tranſplanted by philoſophy into America. The knowledge of the mother-country was turned againſt itſelf; and it was ſaid:

One muſt be very careful not to confound ſocieties and government with each other. Let us inveſtigate their origin, in order to diſtinguiſh them.

Man, thrown upon the globe as it were by chance, ſurrounded with all the evils of nature, obliged to defend and protect his life againſt the ſtorms and hurricanes of the air, againſt the inundations of the waters, againſt the fires and the conflagrations of volcanos, againſt the intemperature of the zones, either torrid or frozen, againſt the barrenneſs of the earth, which re-

fuſes to yield him any ſubſiſtence, or againſt its unfortunate fertility, which produces poiſons under his feet, againſt the teeth of ferocious animals, who diſpute with him his abode and his prey, and, by combating him themſelves, ſeem to intend to acquire the dominion of the globe, of which he thinks himſelf the maſter; man, in this ſtate alone, and abandoned to himſelf, could do nothing for his own preſervation. It was therefore neceſſary that he ſhould unite and aſſociate with his fellow-creatures, in order to make a common ſtock of their ſtrength and underſtanding. It is by this union that he hath been able to triumph over ſo many evils, that he hath faſhioned the globe to his own uſe, kept the rivers within their boundaries, ſubdued the ſeas, enſured his ſubſiſtence, conquered one part of the animals, by compelling them to ſerve him, and driven away the reſt to a diſtance from his empire, in the midſt of deſerts or of foreſts, where their numbers diminiſh from one century to another. Men, united among themſelves, have carried into execution what one man alone could never have accompliſhed; and they all together concur in preſerving their work. Such is the origin, ſuch are the advantages and the end of ſociety. BOOK XVIII.

Government owes its riſe to the neceſſity of preventing and of repelling the injuries which the aſſociates had to fear from each other. It is the centinel who watches to prevent the common labours from being diſturbed.

Society hath therefore ariſen from the neceſſities of mankind, and government owes its origin to their vices. Society always tends to good; government ought always to tend towards repreſſing evil. Society is the firſt, and in its origin independent and free; government hath been inſtituted for it, and is only its inſtrument. The former has the right of commanding, the latter muſt obey. Society hath created public ſtrength, and government, which hath received it from its hands, ought to conſecrate it entirely to its uſe. In a word, ſociety is eſſentially good; govern-

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ment, as it is well known, may be, and is but too often bad.

It hath been ſaid that we were all born equals; but that is not true. That we had all the ſame rights: I do not know what rights are, where there is an inequality of talents and of ſtrength, and no guarantee nor ſanction. That Nature hath offered to us all the ſame habitation and the ſame reſources; that is not true. That we were indiſcriminately endowed with the ſame means of defence; that is not true: nor do I know in what ſenſe it can be true that we enjoy the ſame qualities of body and of mind.

There is an original inequality between men which nothing can remedy. It muſt laſt for ever; and all that can be obtained from the beſt legiſlation will not be to deſtroy it, but to prevent its abuſes.

But hath not Nature herſelf produced the ſeeds of tyranny, by dealing with her children like a ſtepmother, and by creating ſome children weak, and others ſtrong? It is ſcarce poſſible to deny this, eſpecially if we go back to a period previous to all legiſlation, when we ſhall ſee men as paſſionate and as unreaſonable as brutes.

What views then can the founders of nations and the legiſlators have had? To obviate all the diſaſters of this deteſted principle, by a kind of artificial equality, which ſhould ſubject the members of a ſociety, without exception, to one ſingle impartial authority. It is a ſword which is indiſcriminately ſuſpended over every head; but this ſword was only ideal. It was neceſſary that ſome hand, ſome natural being, ſhould hold it.

The reſult of this hath been, that the hiſtory of civilized man is nothing more than the hiſtory of his miſery. All the pages of it are ſtained with blood; ſome with that of the oppreſſors, the reſt with that of the oppreſſed.

In this point of view, man appears more wicked and more unfortunate than animals. The different ſpecies of animals ſubſiſt at the expence of each other; but

the ſocieties of men have never ceaſed to attack each other. There is no condition in the ſame ſociety, which doth not either devour, or hath not itſelf devoured, whatever may have been, or whatever may be the form of government, or of artificial equality, which hath been oppoſed to the primitive or natural inequality.

But theſe forms of government, freely choſen by our forefathers, whatever ſanction they may have received, either from oath, or from unanimous conſent, or from permanency, are they to be conſidered as binding to their deſcendants? Certainly not: and it is impoſſible that you, Engliſhmen, who have ſucceſſively undergone ſo many different revolutions in your political conſtitution; who have been driven from monarchy to tyranny, from tyranny to ariſtocracy, from ariſtocracy to democracy, and from democracy to anarchy; it is impoſſible, I ſay, that you can think differently from me, without accuſing yourſelves of rebellion and perjury.

We examine things as philoſophers; and it is well known that our ſpeculations have not occaſioned civil wars. No ſubjects are more patient than we are. I ſhall therefore purſue my object without any apprehenſion for the conſequences. If people be happy under their form of government, they will maintain it. If they be wretched, it will be neither your opinion nor mine, but the impoſſibility of ſuffering any more, or for any longer time, which will determine them to change. A ſalutary commotion, which the oppreſſor will call revolt, though it be no more than the legal exerciſe of an unalienable and natural right of the man who is oppreſſed, and even of him who is not oppreſſed.

Man has a will and a choice of his own; but he can neither have a will nor a choice for another: and it would be an extravagance to exerciſe his will and his choice for him who is not yet born, for him who will not exiſt for many centuries after. There is no individual who hath not a right to ſeek elſewhere a

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better form of government, if he be diſſatisfied with that of his own country. There is no ſociety which hath not the ſame liberty of altering its own form of government, as its anceſtors had to adopt it. Upon this point, ſocieties are in the ſame ſtate as in the firſt inſtant of their civilization. It would be a great evil if it were not ſo; and indeed in that caſe there could be no remedy againſt the greateſt of all evils. Millions of men muſt have been condemned to endleſs misfortune. It will therefore be admitted, in conformity to my principles,

That there is no form of government, the prerogative of which is to be immutable.

That there is no political authority, created either yeſterday or a thouſand years ago, which cannot be abrogated, either ten years hence, or to-morrow.

Whoever thinks otherwiſe is a ſlave; he is the idolater of the works of his own hands.

Whoever thinks otherwiſe is a madman, who devotes himſelf, as well as his family, his children, and his children's children, to everlaſting miſery, by granting to his anceſtors the right of ſtipulating for him when he was not in being, and by arrogating to himſelf the right of ſtipulating for his deſcendants, who are not yet in being.

All authority in this world hath begun either by the conſent of the ſubjects, or by the ſtrength of the maſter. It may be legally put a ſtop to in either of the caſes. There is nothing which favours tyranny againſt liberty.

The truth of theſe principles is the more eſſential, as every power tends by its nature to deſpotiſm, even in the nation which is the moſt jealous of its rights, even in England.

I have heard a Whig ſay, that as long as a bad ſovereign, or at leaſt a bad miniſter, could not be ſent to Tyburn with as little formality, parade, tumult, and ſurpriſe, as the moſt obſcure malefactor, the nation would never either have a proper idea, nor the full enjoyment of its rights, in a manner ſuitable to a peo-

he who venture to think, and to call themſelves a free people. This man was perhaps a fanatic; but madmen ſometimes utter words of profound ſenſe. Nevertheleſs, an adminiſtration which you yourſelves own to be ignorant, corrupt, and audacious, ſhall imperiouſly precipitate you with impunity into the deepeſt abyſs of misfortune. BOOK XVIII.

The quantity of ſpecie circulating among you is not very conſiderable. You are overburdened with paper-currency, under every denomination. All the gold of Europe, heaped up in your treaſury, would be ſcarce ſufficient to pay off your national debt. It is not known by what kind of incredible illuſion this fictitious coin is kept up. The moſt trifling event may in a moment bring it into diſcredit. One ſingle alarm is ſufficient to induce a ſudden bankruptcy. The dreadful conſequences of this breach of faith are beyond our imagination. And this is the moment which hath been choſen to make you declare againſt your colonies, that is to ſay, to involve yourſelves in an unjuſt, ſenſeleſs, and ruinous war. What will become of you, when one important branch of your commerce ſhall be annihilated; when you ſhall have loſt one third of your poſſeſſions; when you ſhall have maſſacred one or two millions of your fellow-citizens; when your ſtrength ſhall be exhauſted, your merchants ruined, your manufacturers reduced to periſh for want; when your debt ſhall be increaſed, and your revenue diminiſhed? Beware! the blood of the Americans will ſooner or later fall upon your own heads. Its effuſion will be revenged by your own hands; and the moment is at hand.

But, you ſay, *they are rebels.*—Why are they ſo? Becauſe they will not be your ſlaves? A people who are ſubject to the will of another, who can diſpoſe at pleaſure of their government, of their laws, and of their commerce, who can tax them according to their own fancy, limit their induſtry, and fetter it by arbitrary prohibitions, are ſlaves, and their ſervitude is worſe than that which they would experience under a ty-

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rant; becauſe a tyrant may be got rid of, either by expulſion or by aſſaſſination. Both theſe acts have been done by you. But a nation can neither be put to death nor expelled. Liberty can be expected only from a rupture, the conſequence of which muſt be the ruin of one or the other of the nations, and ſometimes of both. A tyrant is a monſter with only one head, which may be ſtricken off at a blow. A deſpotic nation is a hydra with a thouſand heads, which can only be ſmitten off by a thouſand ſwords at once. The crime of the oppreſſion exerciſed by a tyrant excites univerſal indignation againſt himſelf alone. The ſame crime, committed by a numerous ſociety, ſpreads the horror and the ſhame of it amongſt a multitude, which is never aſhamed. It is the crime of every body and of no body; and the ſentiment of miſguided deſpair knows not upon what object to fix its reſentment.

But they are our ſubjects.—Your ſubjects! not more than the inhabitants of the province of Wales are the ſubjects of the county of Lancaſter. The authority of one nation over another can only be founded upon conqueſt, upon general conſent, or upon propoſed and accepted conditions.* Conqueſt is no more binding than robbery; the conſent of anceſtors cannot compel deſcendants; and no conditions can be conſiſtent with the ſacrifice of liberty. Liberty cannot be bartered for any thing, becauſe no equivalent can be given for it. This is the ſpeech you have made to your tyrants, and we now addreſs it to you in favour of your coloniſts.

The land which they occupy is ours.—Yours! It is thus you call it, becauſe you have invaded it. But ſuppoſing it be ſo, doth not the charter of conceſſion oblige you to treat the Americans as your countrymen? and do you comply with this obligation? But to what purpoſe are conceſſions and charters, which grant what one is not maſter of, and which conſequently one hath no right of granting to a ſmall number of feeble men, compelled by circumſtances to receive as a gratuity what they have a natural right to?

Beſides, have the deſcendants, who are now alive, been invited to accede to a compact, ſigned by their anceſtors? The truth of this principle muſt be acknowledged; or the deſcendants of James muſt be recalled. What right was there to drive him away, which we had not equally to ſeparate from you? ſay the Americans. And what anſwer can be made to them?

They are ungrateful; we are their founders; we have been their defenders; we have indebted ourſelves for them. —For yourſelves, you may ſay, as much, or more than for them. If you have defended them, it is in the ſame manner as you would have defended the ſultan of Conſtantinople, if your ambition or your intereſt had required it. But have they not repaid this obligation, by delivering to you their productions, by excluſively receiving your merchandiſe, at the exorbitant price you have choſen to put upon it, by ſubmitting to the prohibitions which thwarted their induſtry, and to the reſtrictions with which you have oppreſſed their property? Have they not aſſiſted you, and indebted themſelves for you? Have they not taken up arms, and fought for you? Have they not acceded to your demands, when you have made them in a manner ſuitable to freemen? When have they ever refuſed you any thing, unleſs when preſenting your bayonets to their breaſts, you have ſaid to them, *Your treaſure, or your life; die, or be our ſlaves.* What! becauſe you have been beneficent, have you the right to become oppreſſors? Will the nations alſo convert their expectations of gratitude into a barbarous pretence to diſgrace and inſult thoſe who have had the misfortune to receive their benefits? Individuals, perhaps, though it be not their duty, may in their benefactors bear with their tyrants. In them, undoubtedly, it is great, it is magnanimous, to conſent to be unhappy, rather than be ungrateful. But the ſyſtem of morality among nations is different. The public felicity is the firſt law, as it is the firſt duty. The primary obligation of theſe great bodies is towards themſelves. They

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owe, above all things, liberty and juſtice to thoſe who compoſe them. Every child who is born in a ſtate, every citizen who comes to breathe the air of a country which he hath choſen for himſelf, or which Nature hath given him, has a right to the greateſt degree of happineſs he can poſſibly enjoy. Every obligation which cannot be reconciled with that principle is void. Every contrary claim is an encroachment upon his rights. Of what concern is it to him, if his anceſtors have been favoured, when he himſelf is deſtined to be the victim? By what right can we exact the payment of this uſurious debt of benefits, which he hath not even experienced? No. To arrogate to one's ſelf a ſimilar claim, againſt a whole nation and its poſterity, is to ſubvert all the ideas of order and policy; it is to betray all the laws of morality, while we invoke their countenance. What hath not England done for Hanover? But is Hanover ſubject to your command? All the republics of Greece were connected with each other by mutual ſervices? Did any one of them exact, as a token of gratitude, the right of diſpoſing of the adminiſtration of the republic that had received the obligation?

But our honour is compromiſed.—Say rather, the honour of your bad miniſters, and not your own. In what conſiſts the real honour of him who is in an error? Is it to perſiſt in it, or to acknowledge it? The man who returns to ſentiments of juſtice hath no occaſion to be aſhamed. Engliſhmen, you have been too precipitate. Why did you not wait till riches had corrupted the Americans, as you are corrupted? Then they would have been as little concerned for their liberty as you for yours. Then, ſubdued by wealth, your arms would have been uſeleſs. But you have attacked them in an inſtant, when what they had to loſe, liberty, could not be balanced by what they had to preſerve.

But in later times they would have become ſtill more numerous.—I acknowledge it. You have therefore only attempted the enſlaving of a people, whom time would

have ſet free in ſpite of you. In twenty or thirty years, the remembrance of your atrocious deeds will be recent; and the fruit of them will be taken away from you: then nothing but ſhame and remorſe will remain to you. There is a decree of nature which you cannot change; it is, that great bodies always give law to ſmaller ones. But if the Americans ſhould then undertake againſt Great Britain what you have undertaken againſt them, would you not ſay to them exactly what they ſay to you at this inſtant? Wherefore ſhould motives which affect you but little, coming from them, appear more ſolid when coming from you?

They will neither obey our parliament, nor adopt our conſtitution.—Have they made, or can they change them?

We obey them without having had, either in paſt times, or without having at preſent any influence over them.—That is to ſay, that you are ſlaves, and that you cannot ſuffer freemen. Nevertheleſs, do not confound the poſition of the Americans with yours. You have repreſentatives, and they have none; you have voices which ſpeak for you, and no one ſtipulates for them. If the voices be bought and ſold, this is an excellent reaſon for them to diſclaim this advantage.

They would be independent of us.—Are not you ſo of them?

They will never be able to ſupport themſelves without us.—If that be the caſe, keep quiet; neceſſity will bring them back to you.

But what if we could not ſubſiſt without them?—This would be a great misfortune: but to cut their throats, in order to prevent it, is a ſingular expedient.

It is for their intereſt, it is for their good, that we are angry with them, as we are with children who behave improperly.—Their intereſt and their good! Who hath appointed you the judges of theſe two points which touch them ſo nearly, and which they ought to know better than you? If it ſhould happen that a citizen ſhould enter by force into the houſe of another, upon a pretence that he was a man of great underſtanding,

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and that no one was more capable of maintaining good order and peace at his neighbour's houſe; would not his neighbour have a right to deſire him to withdraw, and concern himſelf about his own affairs? But what ſhall we ſay if the affairs of this officious hypocrite were much in diſorder? If he were nothing more than an ambitious man, who, under pretence of governing, wanted to uſurp; if under the maſk of benevolence he concealed only views full of injuſtice, ſuch, for inſtance, as the endeavour to relieve his own difficulties at the expence of his fellow-citizens?

We are the mother-country.—What, are the moſt ſacred names always to ſerve as veils to ambition and to intereſt? If you be the mother-country, fulfil the duties of it. Moreover, the colony is formed of different nations, among whom ſome will grant and others will refuſe you this title. While all of them will ſay to you at once, there is a time when the authority of parents over their children is to ceaſe, and this time is that when children can provide for themſelves. What term have you fixed for our emancipation? Be honeſt, and confeſs you flattered yourſelves that you ſhould have kept us under perpetual tutelage. This tutelage however might be ſupportable, if it were not changed for us into an unbearable conſtraint; if our advantage were not inceſſantly ſacrificed to yours; if we were not obliged to ſuffer a multitude of oppreſſions in detail from the governors, the judges, the financiers, and the military men whom you ſend to us; if moſt of them at their arrival in our climates did not bring with them degraded characters, ruined fortunes, rapacious hands; and the inſolence of ſubaltern tyrants, who, tired with obeying the laws in their own country, come to indemnify themſelves in a New World, by exerciſing there a power which is too frequently arbitrary. You are the mother-country, but far from encouraging our progreſs, you ſtand in awe of it. You confine our induſtry, and you counteract our riſing ſtrength. Nature, in favouring us, diſappoints your ſecret wiſhes;

or rather, it is your deſire that ſhe ſhould remain in a ſtate of eternal infancy, with reſpect to every thing that may be uſeful to us; and notwithſtanding this, that we ſhould ſtill be robuſt ſlaves to ſerve you, and inceſſantly to ſupply your avidity with new ſources of wealth. Is this being a mother? Is this being our country? Alas! in the foreſts that ſurround us, Nature hath beſtowed a milder inſtinct on the wild beaſt, who, when ſhe is become a mother, doth not at leaſt devour thoſe to whom ſhe hath given birth.

If we agreed to all their pretenſions, they would ſoon be happier than we are.—And why not? If you be corrupted, why ſhould they be ſo? If you incline to ſlavery, muſt they alſo imitate your example? If you were their maſter, why ſhould you not confer the property of another power to your ſovereign? Why ſhould you not make him your deſpot, as you have declared him by a ſolemn act the deſpot of Canada? Muſt they then have ratified this extravagant conceſſion? and if they had ratified it, muſt they have obeyed the ſovereign you would have given them? and muſt they have taken up arms againſt you in obedience to his orders? The king of England hath a negative power. No law can be enacted there without his conſent. This power, the inconvenience of which you daily experience, why ſhould the Americans grant it to him among themſelves? Would it be to deprive him of it one day by taking up arms, as it will happen to you if your government ſhould be improved? What advantage can you find in ſubjecting them to a vicious conſtitution?

Vicious or not, this conſtitution is ours, and it muſt be generally acknowledged and accepted by all who bear the Engliſh name; otherwiſe, each of our provinces governing itſelf in its own way, having its own laws, and pretending to independence, we ſhould ceaſe to form a national body, and ſhould be nothing more than a collection of ſmall inſulated republics divided, inceſſantly at war with each other, and eaſily invaded by a common enemy. The

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Suppoſing him to be near you, he is at a diſtance from the Americans. A privilege which may be attended with ſome inconvenience to you, is not the leſs a privilege. But, ſeparated as they are from Great Britain, by immenſe ſeas, of what concern is it to you whether your colonies accept or reject your conſtitutions? What has this to do either for or againſt your ſtrength, or for or againſt your ſecurity? That unity, of which you exaggerate the advantages, is alſo nothing more than a vain pretence. You urge your laws to them when they are oppreſſed by them, and you trample upon them yourſelves when they appeal to them in their favour. You tax yourſelves, and you want to tax them. When the leaſt encroachment is attempted upon this privilege, you exclaim with rage, you take up arms, and you are ready to devote yourſelves to death, and yet you put the poniard to the throat of your fellow-citizen to compel him to renounce it. Your ports are open to all nations, and you ſhut up thoſe of the coloniſts from them. Your merchandiſe is conveyed to all parts where you chooſe to ſend it, and theirs is forced to be ſent to you. You manufacture, and you will not ſuffer them to do the ſame. They have hides and they have iron, and you compel them to deliver theſe hides and this iron to you in the rough ſtate. What you get at a low price, they muſt purchaſe from you at the price which your rapaciouſneſs exacted. You ſacrifice them to your merchants; and becauſe your Eaſt India Company was in danger, it was neceſſary that their loſſes ſhould be repaired by the Americans. And yet you call them your fellow-citizens, and it is thus you invite them to accept your conſtitution. This unity, this league, which ſeems ſo neceſſary to you, is nothing more than the league of the fooliſh animals in the fable, among which you have reſerved to yourſelf the part of the lion.

Perhaps you have only ſuffered yourſelves to be in-

duced to fill the New World with blood and ravages, merely from a falſe point of honour. We like to perſuade ourſelves, that ſo many enormities have not been the conſequence of a project coolly concerted. You have been told, that the Americans were nothing more than a baſe herd of cowards, whom the leaſt threat would induce with fear and conſternation to comply with every thing you choſe to exact. Inſtead of thoſe puſillanimous men, who had been deſcribed to you, and whom you had been taught to expect, you met with brave people, true Engliſhmen, and fellow-citizens worthy of you. Was this a reaſon for increaſing your anger? What! have your anceſtors admired the Dutch ſhaking off the Spaniſh yoke; and ſhall you be aſtoniſhed that your deſcendants, your countrymen, your brethren, thoſe who felt your blood circulating in their veins, ſhould rather chooſe to ſpill it than ſubmit to the yoke, and ſhould prefer death to a life of ſlavery? A ſtranger, over whom you would aſſume the ſame pretenſions, would have diſarmed you; if laying bare his breaſt he had ſaid, *Bury your dagger here, or leave me free.* And yet you murder your brother, and you murder him without remorſe, becauſe he is your brother! Engliſhmen! what can be more ignominious than the ferociouſneſs of a man proud of his liberty, and encroaching upon that of another? Muſt we be taught to believe, that the greateſt enemy of liberty is the man who enjoys it? Alas! we are but too much diſpoſed to believe it. Enemies to kings, you have all their haughtineſs. Enemies to the royal prerogative, you diſplay it in all parts. You ſhow yourſelves tyrants everywhere. Tyrants of nations and of your colonies; if you ſhould prevail in this conteſt, it is becauſe Heaven will have been inattentive to the vows that are addreſſed to it from all regions of the earth.

Since the ſeas have not ſwallowed up your proud ſatellites, tell me what will become of them, if there ſhould ariſe in the New World an eloquent man, who ſhould promiſe eternal ſalvation to thoſe who ſhould

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periſh ſword in hand, the martyrs of liberty. Americans, let your prieſts be inceſſantly ſeen in your pulpits, with crowns in their hands, and ſhowing you the heavens opened. Prieſts of the New World, it is time to expiate the ancient fanaticiſm, which hath deſolated and ravaged America, by a fanaticiſm more fortunate, the offspring of politics and of liberty. But you will not deceive your fellow-citizens. God, who is the firſt principle of juſtice and of order, abhors tyrants. God hath imprinted in the heart of man the ſacred love of liberty, and will not ſuffer that ſervitude ſhould degrade and disfigure the moſt beautiful of his works. If apotheoſis be due to man, it is certainly to him who fights and dies for his country. Place his image in your churches, and put it near your altars. It will be the worſhip of the country. Compoſe a political and religious kalendar, in which every day ſhall be marked with the name of ſome one of thoſe heroes who ſhall have ſpilt his blood to make you free. Your poſterity will read them one day with a holy reſpect; they will ſay, theſe are the names of thoſe who have ſet half the world at liberty, and who, exerting themſelves for our happineſs before we exiſted, have prevented that at our birth we ſhould hear the rattling of chains over our cradles.

What meaſures would it have ſuited England to adopt, when ſhe ſaw the ferment raiſed in her colonies.

When the cauſe of the colonies was debated in the national aſſemblies, we have heard many excellent pleadings pronounced in their favour. But perhaps the following would have been the moſt proper to addreſs to them:

"I will ſay nothing to you, Gentlemen, of the juſtice or injuſtice of your pretenſions. I am not ſo much a ſtranger to public affairs, to be ignorant that this preliminary examination, which is ſacred in all other circumſtances of life, would be improper and ridiculous in this. I will not enter into what expectations you may have of ſucceſs, nor will I examine whether you will prevail in this cauſe, although this ſubject might appear of ſome importance to you, and might probably engage your attention. Nor

" will I even compare the advantages of your ſituation " if you ſhould ſucceed, with the conſequences that " will follow if you ſhould fail. But I will ſuppoſe at " once, that you have reduced the colonies to the de- " gree of ſervitude which you require. I only wiſh to " be informed how you will maintain them in it. Will " it be by a ſtanding army? But this army, which will " exhauſt you of men and money, will it follow or " not the increaſe of population? There are but two " anſwers to be made to this queſtion, and of theſe " two anſwers one ſeems to me to be abſurd, and the " other brings you back to the ſituation in which " you now are. I have reflected much upon the mat- " ter, and if I miſtake not, I have diſcovered the only " reaſonable and ſure meaſure you have to purſue. " This is, as ſoon as you ſhall have made yourſelves " maſters of them, to ſtop the progreſs of population, " ſince it appears to you more advantageous, more ho- " nourable, and more proper, to rule over a ſmall num- " ber of ſlaves, than to have a nation of freemen for " your equals and friends.

" But you will aſk me, how is the progreſs of po- " pulation to be ſtopped? The expedient might per- " haps diſguſt men of weak and puſillanimous minds; " but fortunately there are none ſuch in this auguſt " aſſembly. This expedient is to put to death, with- " out mercy, the greateſt part of theſe unworthy re- " bels, and to reduce the reſt to the condition of Ne- " groes. The brave and generous Spartans, ſo cele- " brated in ancient and modern hiſtory, have ſet you " the example. Like them, with their faces muffled " up in their cloaks, let our fellow-citizens and ſatel- " lites go out clandeſtinely in the night-time, and maſ- " ſacre the children of our Helots by the ſide of their " fathers and on the breaſts of their mothers, leaving " only a ſufficient number of them alive for the la- " bours, and for our ſecurity."

Engliſhmen, you ſhudder at this horrid propoſal, and you aſk what meaſure might be adopted; either conquerors or conquered, this is what you have to

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do: If the reſentment excited by your barbarities can be calmed, if the Americans can ſhut their eyes upon the ravages that ſurround them, if when walking over the ruins of their cities reduced to aſhes, and of their habitations deſtroyed, over the bones of their fellow-citizens ſcattered in the field; if while they breathe the ſcent of blood which your hands have ſpilt in all parts, it can be poſſible that they ſhould forget the enormities of your deſpotiſm; if they can allow themſelves to put the leaſt truſt in your diſcourſes, and can perſuade themſelves that you have ſeriouſly renounced the injuſtice of your pretenſions, begin by recalling the aſſaſſins who are in your pay; reſtore liberty to their ports, which you now keep blocked up; let your veſſels depart from their coaſts; and if there be a wiſe citizen among you, let him take an olive branch in his hand, let him preſent himſelf to them and ſay:

"O you, our fellow-citizens and our old friends, "allow us to uſe this title; we have indeed profaned "it, but our repentance makes us worthy of reſuming "it, and we ſhall hereafter aſpire to the glory of pre- "ſerving it; we confeſs, in the preſence of Heaven, "and of this earth, which have been witneſſes of it, "that our pretenſions have been unjuſt, and our pro- "ceedings barbarous. Forget them as we do. Build "up your ramparts and your fortreſſes. Aſſemble "yourſelves again in your peaceable habitations. Let "us wipe out from our memory even the laſt drop of "blood that has been ſpilt. We admire the generous "ſpirit which hath directed you. It is the ſame to "which, in ſimilar circumſtances, we have owed our "ſalvation. It is particularly by theſe ſigns that we "know you to be our fellow-citizens and our bre- "thren: your wiſh is liberty, and you ſhall be free. "You ſhall be free in all the extent that we ourſelves "have attached to this ſacred name. It is not from "us that you hold this right; we can neither give it "nor take it away from you. You have received it "as we have, from nature, which the crime and the

" ſword of tyrants can fight againſt, but cannot de-
" ſtroy. We pretend not to any kind of ſuperiority
" over you; the honour of aſpiring to an equality is
" ſufficiently glorious for us. We are too well ac-
" quainted with the ineſtimable advantage of govern-
" ing ourſelves, to be deſirous hereafter of depriving
" you of it.

" Maſters and ſupreme arbitrators of your own le-
" giſlation, if in your ſtates you can create a better
" form of government than ours is, we congratulate
" you previouſly upon it. Your happineſs will inſpire
" us with no other ſentiment than the deſire of imi-
" tating you. Form for yourſelves conſtitutions adapt-
" ed to your climate, to your ſoil, and to the New
" World, which you are civilizing. Who can be bet-
" ter acquainted with your own wants than yourſelves.
" Proud and virtuous ſouls, ſuch as yours are, ought
" not to obey any laws except thoſe which they give
" themſelves. Every other yoke would be unworthy
" of them. Regulate your taxes yourſelves. We only
" aſk of you to conform to our cuſtom in the levying
" of the impoſt. We will preſent you with a ſtate of
" our wants, and you will determine yourſelves the
" juſt proportion between your ſupplies and your
" riches.

" Moreover, exerciſe your own induſtry as we do
" ours, and that without any reſtraint. Make the beſt
" advantage of the benefits of Nature, and of the fer-
" tile regions which you inhabit. Let the iron of your
" mines, the fleeces of your flocks, the ſkins of the
" wild animals wandering in your foreſts, be prepared
" in your own manufactures, and acquire in your
" hands an additional value. Let your ports be free.
" Let your commodities, and the productions of your
" arts, be conveyed to all parts of the world, from
" whence you may alſo derive all thoſe which you are
" in want of. This is one of our privileges, let it alſo
" be yours. The empire of the ocean, which we have
" ſubdued by two centuries of grandeur and glory,
" belongs to you as well as to us. We will be united

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" by the ties of commerce. You will bring your productions to us, which we will accept in preference " to thoſe of all other people; and we hope that you " will prefer ours to thoſe of foreign nations, without, " however, being reſtrained to it by any law, unleſs by " that of the common intereſt, and by the title of fellow-citizens and friends.

" Let your ſhips and ours, decorated with the ſame " flag, cover the ſeas; and when theſe friendly veſſels " ſhall meet in the midſt of the deſerts of the ocean, " let ſhouts of joy be heard on both ſides. Let peace " be renewed, and let concord laſt for ever between " us. We underſtand at length, that the chain of reciprocal benevolence is the only one that can connect empires at ſuch a diſtance, and that every other " principle of union would be unjuſt and precarious.

" According to this new plan of everlaſting friendſhip, let agriculture, induſtry, legiſlation, the arts, " and that firſt of all ſciences, that of doing the greateſt good to ſtates and to mankind, be improved " among us. Let the account of your happineſs invite around your dwellings all the unfortunate men " upon the face of the earth. Let tyrants of all countries, and all oppreſſors, whether political or religious, know, that there exiſts a place upon the earth " where one may eſcape from their chains; where humanity diſgraced hath raiſed its head again; where " the harveſts grow for the poor; where the laws are " no more than the guarantee of happineſs; where religion is free, and conſcience hath ceaſed to be a " ſlave; where Nature, in a word, ſeems to wiſh to " juſtify herſelf for having created man; and where " government, for ſo long a time guilty over all the " earth, at length makes ample reparation for its " crimes. Let the idea of ſuch an aſylum alarm the " deſpots, and ſerve as a reſtraint to them; for if the " happineſs of mankind be a matter of indifference to " them, they are at leaſt ambitious and avaricious, and " are therefore anxious to preſerve both their power " and their riches.

" We ourſelves, O! our fellow-citizens and our friends, we ourſelves will profit by your example. If our conſtitution ſhould be impaired; if public wealth ſhould corrupt the court, and the court the nation; if our kings, to whom we have given ſo many terrible leſſons, ſhould at length forget them; if we, who were an auguſt people, were threatened with becoming the meaneſt and vileſt of all herds by ſelling ourſelves; the ſight of your virtues and of your laws might perhaps reanimate us. It would recal to our degraded minds both the value and the grandeur of liberty: and if this example ſhould be ineffectual; if ſlavery, the conſequence of venal corruption, ſhould one day eſtabliſh itſelf in that ſame country, which hath been deluged with blood in the cauſe of liberty, and where our fathers have ſeen ſcaffolds erected for tyrants; we will then abandon this ungrateful land devoted to deſpotiſm, and we will leave the monſter to reign over a deſert. You will then receive us as friends and brethren. You will partake with us that ſoil, that air, as free as the ſouls of its generous inhabitants; and thanks to your virtues, we ſhall find England and a country again.

" Such are, brave fellow-citizens, both our hopes and our wiſhes. Receive, therefore, our oaths as the pledges of ſo holy an alliance. Let us invoke, to render this treaty more ſolemn, let us invoke our common anceſtors, who have all been animated with the ſpirit of liberty as you are, and who have not feared to die in its defence. Let us call to witneſs the memory of the illuſtrious founders of your colonies, that of your auguſt legiſlators, of the philoſopher Locke, who was the firſt man upon earth who made a code of toleration, and of the venerable Penn, who firſt founded a city of brothers. The ſouls of theſe great men, whoſe eyes are undoubtedly in this moment fixed upon us, are worthy to preſide at a treaty which is to ſecure the peace of two worlds. Let us ſwear in their preſence, and upon

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" thoſe arms with which you have fought us, to re-
" main ever united and faithful; and when we have
" pronounced all together an oath of peace, then let
" theſe ſame arms be taken up, and let them be con-
" veyed into a ſacred depoſit, where fathers will ſhow
" them to every riſing generation: and there let them
" be kept faithfully from age to age, in order to be
" one day turned againſt the firſt man, whether Eng-
" liſh or American, who ſhall dare to propoſe the
" breaking off of this alliance, equally uſeful and
" equally honourable to both nations."

At this diſcourſe methinks I hear the cities, the hamlets, the fields, and all the ſhores of North America, reſound with acclamations, and repeating with emotion the name of their Engliſh brethren, the name of the mother-country. Joyful fireworks ſucceed to the conflagrations of diſcord; and in the meanwhile, the nations, jealous of your power, will remain ſilent in aſtoniſhment and deſpair.

The parliament is going to aſſemble, and what have we to expect? Will the voice of reaſon be heard there, or will they perſevere in their folly? Will they be the defenders of the people, or the inſtrument of the tyranny of miniſters? Will their acts be the decrees of a free nation, or edicts dictated by the court? I attend at the debates. Theſe revered places reſound with harangues full of moderation and wiſdom. Soft perſuaſion ſeems to flow from the lips of the moſt diſtinguiſhed orators. They draw tears from the audience. My heart is elated with hope, when ſuddenly a voice, the organ of deſpotiſm and of war, ſuſpends this delightful emotion.

" Engliſhmen," ſaith this furious declaimer, " can
" you heſitate one moment? They are your rights,
" your moſt important intereſts; it is the glory of
" your name which muſt be defended. Theſe great
" benefits are not attacked by a foreign power, but
" threatened by a domeſtic enemy. The danger is
" the greater, the outrage more ſenſibly felt.

" Between two rival nations in arms for mutual

" pretenſions, policy may ſometimes ſuſpend the fight. " Againſt rebellious ſubjects the greateſt fault is delay. " All moderation is weakneſs. The ſtandard of rebel- " lion was raiſed by boldneſs; let it be pulled down " by force. Let the ſword of juſtice fall upon thoſe " who have unſheathed it. Let us loſe no time: to " ſtifle revolutions, there is a firſt moment which muſt " be ſeized upon. Let us not leave to aſtoniſhed " minds the leiſure to accuſtom themſelves to their " crime; to the chiefs, the time to confirm their pow- " er; nor to the people, that of learning to obey new " maſters. The people in a rebellion are almoſt al- " ways drawn away by ſome foreign impulſe; neither " their fury, nor their hatred, nor their attachment, " belong to them. Their paſſions are given to them " as their weapons. Let us diſplay before their eyes " the ſtrength and majeſty of the Britiſh empire. They " will ſoon fall down at our feet; they will paſs on, " in an inſtant, from terror to remorſe, and from re- " morſe to obedience. If we muſt have recourſe to " the ſeverity of arms, let there be no quarter. In ci- " vil war, mercy is the moſt falſe of all virtues. When " once the ſword is drawn, it ſhould never be ſheath- " ed till ſubmiſſion be attained. Henceforward it is " theirs to anſwer to heaven and to earth for their own " misfortunes. Let us conſider, that a temporary ſe- " verity, exerciſed in theſe rebellious regions, muſt ſe- " cure to us obedience and peace for ages to come.

" To ſuſpend our exertions, and to diſarm us, we " are repeatedly told, that this country is peopled with " our fellow-citizens, our friends, and our brothers. " What, ſhall we invoke in their favour names which " they have outraged, and ties which they have bro- " ken? Theſe names, and theſe ſacred ties, are the " things that accuſe them, and pronounce them guil- " ty. Since when do thoſe titles, ſo revered, impoſe " duties only upon us? Since when have rebellious " children the right of taking up arms againſt their " mother, of depriving her of her inheritance, and of " tearing her to pieces? They talk of liberty. I re-

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"ſpect the name as much as they do: but, is this li-
"berty independence? Is it the right of ſubverting a
"legiſlation, eſtabliſhed and founded for two centu-
"ries paſt? Is it the right of uſurping all our rights?
"They talk of liberty; and I talk of the ſupremacy
"and the ſovereign power of England.

"What, if they had any complaints to make, if
"they refuſed to bear with us a ſmall portion of the
"burden which oppreſſes us, and to ſhare in our ex-
"pences, as we make them ſhare in our grandeur, had
"they no other way of doing this but by rebellion,
"but by arms? They are called our fellow-citizens,
"and our friends; but I behold in them nothing more
"than our perſecutors, and the moſt cruel enemies of
"our country. Undoubtedly, we have had common
"anceſtors; but theſe reſpectable forefathers I myſelf
"call upon with confidence. If their ſhades could
"reſume their place here, their indignation would be
"equal to ours. With what reſentment would theſe
"virtuous citizens hear, that thoſe of their deſcendants
"who had ſettled beyond the ſeas, had no ſooner felt
"their own ſtrength, than they had made the guilty
"trial of it againſt their country; and that they have
"turned her own benefits againſt her? All of them,
"yes, all of them, even that pacific ſet into whom
"their founder inſtilled the duty of never ſteeping
"their hands in blood; they who had reſpected the
"rights and the lives of ſavage people; they who, in
"the enthuſiaſm of humanity, have broken the fetters
"of their ſlaves; at preſent, equally faithleſs to their
"country and to their religion, take up arms for the
"purpoſe of carnage, and to uſe them againſt you.
"They treat all men as their brethren; and you alone,
"of all people, are excluded from this title. They
"have taught the world, that the ſavage Americans,
"and the Negroes of Africa, are henceforth leſs ſtran-
"gers to them than the citizens of England.

"Arm yourſelves, therefore; avenge your offended
"rights, avenge your greatneſs betrayed. Diſplay
"that power, which makes itſelf be feared in Europe,

" in Africa, and in India; and which hath ſo often " aſtoniſhed America itſelf: and ſince between a ſo- " vereign people, and the ſubject that rebels, there " can henceforth be no other treaty than that of force, " let force determine the matter. Preſerve and retake " that univerſe which belongs to you, and which in- " gratitude and boldneſs would deprive you of." BOOK XVIII.

England reſolves to reduce her colonies by force.

The ſophiſms of a vehement orator, ſupported by the influence of the crown, and by national pride, extinguiſhed in moſt of the repreſentatives of the people the deſire of a pacific arrangement. The new reſolutions are ſimilar to the former. Every thing in them even bears, in a more deciſive manner, the ſtamp of ferociouſneſs and deſpotiſm. Armies are raiſed, and fleets are equipped. The generals and the admirals ſail towards the New World, with deſtructive and ſanguinary orders and plans. Nothing but unreſerved ſubmiſſion can preſerve or put a ſtop to the ravages ordained againſt the colonies.

Till this memorable period, the Americans had confined themſelves to a reſiſtance authoriſed by the Engliſh laws themſelves. They had ſhown no other ambition, but that of being maintained in the very limited rights which they had always enjoyed. Their chiefs, even, who might be ſuppoſed to have more extenſive views, had not yet ventured to ſpeak to the people of any thing more than an advantageous accommodation. By going further, they would have been apprehenſive of loſing the confidence of the people, attached by habit to an empire under the protection of which they had proſpered. The report of the great preparations that were making for war in the Old Hemiſphere, either to enſlave or to reduce the New one to aſhes, extinguiſhed what remains there might be of affection for the original government. It now remained only to inſpire the minds of men with energy. This effect was produced by a work entitled *Common Senſe*. We ſhall here give an account of the ground-work of this doctrine, without confining ourſelves preciſely to the order the writer hath adopted.

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Never, says the author of this celebrated work, never did an interest of greater importance engage the attention of the nations. It is not the concern of a city, or of a province; it is that of an immense continent, and of a great part of the globe. It is not the concern of a day, it is that of ages. The present period will determine the fate of a long futurity; and many hundred years after the cessation of our existence, the sun, in giving light to this hemisphere, will shine either upon our shame or our glory. We have for a long time talked of reconciliation and peace; but every thing is changed. As soon as arms are taken up, as soon as the first drop of blood is spilt, the time for debate is past. One day hath given rise to a revolution. One day hath transported us into a new age.

Men of timorous minds, and who judge of the future by the past, think we are in want of the protection of England. She may be useful to a rising colony; she is become dangerous to a nation completely formed. Infancy stands in need of support, but youth must walk free, and with the elevation that is suitable to it. Between one nation and another, as between man and man, he who can have the power and the right to protect me, may also have the power and the will to do me an injury. I give up the protector, in order that I may not have a master to fear.

In Europe, the people are too closely pressed together to admit this part of the globe to enjoy constant peace. The interests of courts and of nations are always clashing with each other. As the friends of England, we are obliged to have all her enemies. The dowry which this alliance will bring to America is perpetual war. Let us, therefore, separate. Neutrality, trade, and peace; such are the foundations of our grandeur.

The authority of Great Britain must sooner or later have an end. This is the operation of nature, of necessity, and of time. The English government, therefore, can only give us a temporary constitution; and we shall only bequeath to our posterity an American

ſtate, burdened with diſſenſions and debts. If we be desirous of ſecuring our happineſs, let us ſeparate. If we be fathers, and if we love our children, let us ſeparate. Laws and liberty, ſuch is the inheritance we owe them. BOOK XVIII.

England is at too great a diſtance from us to govern us. What, ſhall we always croſs two thouſand leagues to demand the protection of laws, to claim juſtice, to juſtify ourſelves of imaginary crimes, and meanly to ſolicit the court and the miniſtry of a foreign climate? Muſt we wait whole years for every anſwer, ſuppoſing it were not even too often injuſtice that we were obliged to go in ſearch of acroſs the ocean? No; for a great ſtate, the centre and the ſeat of power muſt neceſſarily be in the ſtate itſelf. Nothing but the deſpotiſm of the Eaſt can poſſibly have accuſtomed the people thus to receive laws from diſtant maſters, or from Laſhaws, who are the repreſentatives of inviſible tyrants. But remember, that the more the diſtance increaſes, the heavier is the weight of deſpotiſm; and that the people, then deprived of almoſt all the benefits of government, have none but the misfortunes and vices of it.

Nature hath not created a world, in order to ſubject it to the inhabitants of an iſland in another hemiſphere. Nature hath eſtabliſhed laws of equilibrium, which ſhe follows in all parts, in the heavens as on the earth. By the rule of quantity and of diſtance, America can belong only to itſelf.

There is no government without a mutual confidence between him who commands and him who obeys; otherwiſe all is over, the communication is interrupted, and cannot poſſibly be renewed. England hath ſhown too evidently that ſhe wanted to command us as ſlaves; America, that ſhe was equally ſenſible of her rights and her ſtrength. Each of them hath betrayed its ſecret; and from that moment no treaty can take place. It would be ſigned by hatred and miſtruſt; hatred which cannot forgive, and miſtruſt, which in its nature is irreconcileable.

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Would you know what would be the conſequence of an accommodation? Your ruin. You ſtand in need of laws, and will not obtain them. Who is to give them to you? The Engliſh nation? But ſhe is jealous of your increaſe. The king? He is your enemy. Yourſelves, in your aſſemblies? Do you not recollect, that every legiſlation is ſubject to the negative right of the monarch who wiſhes to ſubdue you? This right would be a terrible one, inceſſantly militating againſt you. Should you make demands, they will be eluded; ſhould you form plans of grandeur and commerce, they would become an object of alarm for the mother-country. Your government would be nothing more than a clandeſtine war, ſuch as that of an enemy who wiſhes to deſtroy without fighting; it would be, in political economy, a ſlow and concealed aſſaſſination, which gives riſe to languor, which prolongs and entertains weakneſs, and which, by a deſtructive art, keeps the body equally ſuſpended between life and death. If you ſhould ſubmit to England, ſuch will be your fate.

We have a right to take up arms. Our rights are neceſſity, a juſt defence; our misfortunes, thoſe of our children, the enormities committed againſt us. Our rights are our auguſt title of nation. The ſword muſt decide between us. The tribunal of war is henceforth the only tribunal that exiſts for us. If we muſt fight, let it at leaſt be for a cauſe that is worthy, and which will reward us for the laviſhment of our riches and our blood. What! ſhall we expoſe ourſelves to ſee our cities deſtroyed, our countries ravaged, our families put to the ſword, merely to obtain an honourable accommodation; that is to ſay, to entreat for new chains, and to cement ourſelves the edifice of our ſlavery? What! ſhall it be by the light of conflagrations; ſhall it be over the graves of our fathers, of our children, and of our wives, that we ſhall ſign a treaty with our oppreſſors? And will they, covered over with our blood, condeſcend to forgive us? Alas! we ſhould then be nothing more than a vile object of aſtoniſh-

ment to Europe, of indignation to America, and of contempt even to our enemies. If we can obey, we have had no right to contend. Liberty alone can abſolve us. Liberty, and entire liberty, is the only aim worthy of our efforts and of our perils. What do I ſay? It belongs to us from this moment. It is in the bloody plains of Lexington that our claims are regiſtered; it is there that England hath torn in pieces that contract which united us to her. Yes, at the inſtant when England fired the firſt ſhot againſt us, Nature herſelf proclaimed us free and independent. BOOK XVIII.

Let us avail ourſelves of the benefits we receive from our enemies. The youth of nations is the age the moſt favourable to their independence. It is the period of energy and vigour. Our minds are not yet ſurrounded with that parade of luxury which ſerves as a hoſtage to tyranny. Our limbs are not yet enervated by the arts of effeminacy. There is none of that nobility bearing ſway among us, which, even by its conſtitution, is allied to kings; which is no further attached to liberty, than when it can make it the means of oppreſſion; that nobility, eager of rights and titles, for whom, in times of revolution and criſis, the people are nothing more than an inſtrument, and for whom the ſupreme power is a corrupter always at hand.

Your colonies are formed of plain and courageous, laborious and proud men; men who are at once the proprietors and the cultivators of their lands. Liberty is the firſt of their wants. Ruſtic labours have previouſly inured them to war. Public enthuſiaſm will bring forth talents unknown. It is in revolutions that the minds of men are enlarged, that heroes make their appearance, and take their poſt. Recal Holland to your memory, and the multitude of extraordinary men to whom the conteſt for her liberty gave birth: ſuch is your example. Recollect her ſucceſs: ſuch is your preſage.

Let our firſt meaſure be to form a conſtitution that may unite us. The moment is come. Later than this,

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it would be abandoned to an uncertain futurity, and to the caprices of chance. The more we acquire men and riches, the more barriers will arise between us. How shall we then conciliate so many interests and so many provinces? For a union of this kind, it is necessary that every people should be sensible at once of the weakness and strength of the whole. Great calamities or great apprehensions must prevail. Then it is, that among nations, as among individuals, those vigorous and rooted friendships take place, which reciprocally bind the souls and the interest of men. Then it is, that one single spirit universally prevailing, forms the genius of states; and that all the scattered forces become, by being collected, one sole and terrible force. Thanks to our persecutors, we are now at that period; and if we have courage, it will be a fortunate one for us. Few nations have seized the favourable moment for the formation of their government. If this moment should once escape, it never returns; and men are consequently punished with ages of anarchy and slavery. Let not a similar fault prepare similar regrets for us, which would be ineffectual.

Let us therefore seize upon the moment which is the only one for us. It is in our power to form the finest constitution that ever existed among men. You have read in your sacred writings the history of mankind buried under a general deluge of the globe. One single family survived, and was commissioned by the Supreme Being to renew the earth. We are that family. Despotism hath overwhelmed every thing; and we can renew the world a second time.

At this instant, we are going to determine the fate of a race of men more numerous, perhaps, than all the people of Europe taken together. Shall we wait till we become the prey of the conqueror, and till the hopes of the universe shall be frustrated? Let us suppose, that all the future generations of the world have at this moment their eyes fixed upon us, and are asking us for liberty. We are going to settle their des-

tiny. If we betray them, they will one day walk over our graves with their chains, and perhaps load us with imprecations.

Remember a work that hath appeared among us, and the motto of which was, UNION OR DEATH.

Let us therefore unite, and begin by declaring our INDEPENDENCE. That alone can efface the title of rebellious subjects, which our inſolent oppreſſors dare to beſtow upon us. That alone can make us riſe to that dignity that is our due, enſure us allies among the powers, and imprint reſpect even on our enemies; and if we treat with them, that alone can give us the right of treating with that right and majeſty which belongs to a nation.

But I will repeat it: Let us loſe no time. Our uncertainty occaſions our weakneſs. Let us dare to be free, and we are ſo. When we are ready to get over this ſtep, we ſtart back. We all look at each other with anxious curioſity. It ſeems as if we were aſtoniſhed at our boldneſs, and frightened at our courage. But it is no longer time to calculate. In great affairs, and where there is but one great meaſure to adopt, too much circumſpection ceaſes to be prudence. Whatever is extreme demands an extreme reſolution. Then the moſt enterpriſing ſteps are the moſt prudent; and the exceſs of boldneſs becomes even the means and the warrant of ſucceſs.

The colonies break the ties which united them to England, and declare themſelves independent of that country.

Such was the baſis of the ſentiments and ideas diffuſed in this work. They confirmed in their principles thoſe bold men, who for a long time paſt had aſked to be entirely detached from the mother-country. The timid citizens, who had hitherto heſitated, at length determined on this great ſeparation. The wiſh for independence had a ſufficient number of partiſans, to enable the general congreſs to declare it on the 4th of July 1776.

O that I had received from nature the genius and eloquence of the celebrated orators of Athens and Rome! With what ſublimity, with what enthuſiaſm ſhould I not ſpeak of thoſe generous men, who, by

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their patience, their wiſdom, and their courage, have erected this grand edifice. Hancock, Franklin, and the two Adamſes, were the principal perſons in this intereſting ſcene; but they were not the only ones. Poſterity will be acquainted with them all. Their celebrated names will be tranſmitted to it by a more fortunate pen than mine. The marble and the bronze will exhibit them to the remoteſt ages. At ſight of them, the friend of liberty will feel his eyes filled with pleaſing tears, and his heart will bound with joy. Under the buſt of one of them has been written, HE TOOK FROM HEAVEN ITS THUNDER, AND FROM TYRANTS THEIR SCEPTRE. They will all partake with him the laſt words of this encomium.

Heroic region! mine advanced age will not allow me to viſit thee! I ſhall never be preſent amidſt the reſpectable perſons who compoſe your Areopagus. I ſhall never aſſiſt at the deliberations of your congreſs. I ſhall die without having ſeen the reſidence of toleration, of morality, and of ſound laws; of virtue, and of liberty. A free and ſacred land will not cover my aſhes; but I could have wiſhed it: and my laſt words ſhall be vows addreſſed to Heaven for your proſperity.

Although America was aſſured that her conduct would meet with univerſal approbation, yet ſhe thought it her duty to lay before the nations the motives of it. She publiſhed her manifeſto *, in which we read; the hiſtory of the Engliſh nation, and of its king, will offer to poſterity, in ſpeaking of them and of us, nothing but a heap of outrages and uſurpations, all equally tending to the eſtabliſhment of abſolute tyranny in theſe provinces.

This hiſtory will ſay, that its monarch hath refuſed to give his conſent to laws which were the moſt ſalutary and the moſt neceſſary for the public good.

That he hath transferred the aſſemblies to inconvenient places, at a diſtance from the records, in order to bring the deputies more eaſily into his views.

* The Engliſh reader will eaſily perceive that this account is not taken literally from the original manifeſto publiſhed by the Americans.

That he hath ſeveral times diſſolved the chamber of the repreſentatives, becauſe the rights of the people were courageouſly defended there.

That after the diſſolution, the ſtates have been left too long without repreſentatives, and were conſequently expoſed to the inconveniences reſulting from the want of an aſſembly.

That he hath endeavoured to put a ſtop to population, by making it difficult for a foreigner to be naturalized, and by requiring too much for the lands of which he granted the property.

That he hath put the judges too much under his dependence, by enacting that they ſhould hold their offices and their ſalaries from him alone.

That he hath created new places, and filled thoſe regions with a multitude of agents, who devoured our ſubſtance, and diſturbed our tranquillity.

That in time of full peace he hath kept up conſiderable forces in the midſt of us, without the conſent of the legiſlative power.

That he hath rendered the military power independent of, and even ſuperior to, the civil law.

That he hath ſettled with corrupt men to lodge armed ſoldiers in our houſes, and to ſhelter them from puniſhment for the murders which they might commit in America; to deſtroy our trade in all the parts of the globe; to impoſe taxes on us without our conſent; to deprive us in ſeveral caſes of our trials by juries; to tranſport us beyond ſeas, that we might be brought to trial there; to take away our characters, ſuppreſs our beſt laws, and alter the baſis and the form of our government; to ſuſpend our own legiſlation, in order to give us other laws.

That he hath himſelf abdicated his government over the provinces of America, by declaring that we had forfeited his protection, and by waging war againſt us.

That he hath cauſed our coaſts to be ravaged, our ports to be deſtroyed, and our people to be maſſacred,

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That he hath compelled our fellow-citizens taken priſoners at ſea, to bear arms againſt their country, to become the aſſaſſins of their friends and their brethren, or to periſh themſelves by thoſe beloved hands.

That he hath fomented inteſtine diviſions amongſt us, and endeavoured to excite againſt our peaceful inhabitants barbarous ſavages, accuſtomed to maſſacre, without diſtinction of rank, of ſex, or of age, every perſon they met with.

That at this time mercenary and foreign armies have arrived on our ſhores, who were intended to conſummate the work of deſolation and of death.

And that a prince, whoſe character was thus marked by all the features of tyranny, was not fit to govern a free people.

A proceeding which diſſolved the ties formed by conſanguinity, by religion, and by habit, ought to have been ſupported by a great unanimity, and by prudent and vigorous meaſures. The united ſtates of America gave themſelves a confederate conſtitution, which added all the exterior ſtrength of the monarchy to all the interior advantages of a republican government.

Each province had an aſſembly formed by the repreſentatives of the different diſtricts, and who were entruſted with the legiſlative power. The executive power was veſted in the preſident. It was his right and his duty to hear the complaints of all the citizens, to convene them when circumſtances required it, to provide for the equipment and ſubſiſtence of the troops, and to concert the operations with their chiefs. He was placed at the head of a ſecret committee, whoſe buſineſs it was to keep up a conſtant intercourſe with the general congreſs. The time of his adminiſtration is limited to two years, but the laws allowed it to be prolonged.

The provinces were not obliged to give an account of their adminiſtration to the great council of the nation, although it was compoſed of the deputies of all

the colonies. The ſuperiority of the general congreſs over each particular congreſs was limited to what concerned policy and war. BOOK XVIII.

But ſome people have judged that the inſtitution of this body was not ſo well planned as the legiſlation of the provinces. It ſhould ſeem, indeed, that confederate ſtates, who emerge from the condition of ſubjects to riſe to independence, cannot without danger entruſt their delegates with an unlimited power of making peace or war. For if theſe were either faithleſs or not much enlightened, they might again ſubject the whole ſtate to the ſame yoke from which it attempts to free itſelf. It ſeems that in the inſtant of a revolution, the public wiſhes cannot be too much known, nor too literally explained. It is undoubtedly neceſſary, ſay they, that all the meaſures, all the operations which concur to the common attack or defence, ſhould be decided by the common repreſentatives of the body of the ſtate; but the continuation of the war, and the conditions of peace, ought to be debated in each province; and the deliberations ſhould be tranſmitted to the congreſs by the deputies, who ſhould ſubmit the opinion of their provinces to the majority of votes. Laſtly, it is added, that if it be right in eſtabliſhed governments for the people to confide in the wiſdom of the ſenate, it is neceſſary in a ſtate where the conſtitution is forming, where the people, ſtill uncertain of their fate, require their liberty ſword in hand, that all the citizens ſhould continually attend at the councils in the army, and in the public places, and that they ſhould always keep a watchful eye over the repreſentatives to whom they have entruſted their deſtiny.

Though theſe principles be generally true, it may however be anſwered, that it was difficult perhaps to apply them to the new republic formed by the Americans. The caſe is not with them as with the confederate republics we ſee in Europe, I mean Holland and Switzerland, which only occupy a territory of ſmall extent, and where it is an eaſy matter to eſtabliſh a rapid communication between the ſeveral provinces. The

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ſame thing may be ſaid of the confederacies of ancient Greece. Theſe ſtates were ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from each other, almoſt entirely confined within the limits of the Peloponneſus, or within the circuit of a narrow Archipelago. But the united ſtates of America, diſperſed over an immenſe continent, occupying in the New World a ſpace of near fifteen degrees, ſeparated by deſerts, mountains, gulfs, and by a vaſt extent of coaſts, cannot enjoy ſo ſpeedy a communication. If congreſs were not empowered to decide upon political intereſts without the particular deliberations of each province; if upon every occaſion of the leaſt importance, and every unforeſeen event, it were neceſſary for the repreſentatives to receive new orders, and as it were a new power, this body would remain in a ſtate of inactivity. The diſtances to be traverſed, together with the length and the multiplicity of the debates, might be too frequently prejudicial to the general good.

Beſides, it is never in the infancy of a conſtitution, and in the midſt of the great commotions for liberty, that we need apprehend that a body of repreſentatives ſhould betray, either from corruption or weakneſs, the intereſts with which they are entruſted. The general ſpirit will rather be inflamed and exalted in ſuch a body. There it is that the genius of the nation reſides in all its vigour. Choſen by the eſteem of their fellow-citizens, choſen at a time when every public function is dangerous, and every vote an honour; placed at the head of thoſe who will eternally compoſe this celebrated Areopagus, and on that account naturally induced to conſider public liberty as the work of their own hands, they muſt be poſſeſſed with the enthuſiaſm of founders, whoſe pride it is to engrave for future centuries their names upon the frontiſpiece of the auguſt monument which is erecting. The apprehenſions which the favourers of the contrary ſyſtem might have upon this account, appear therefore to be ill-founded.

I will go further ſtill. It might happen that a peo-

ple who fight for their liberty, fatigued with a long and painful ſtruggle, and more affected with the dangers of the moment than with the idea of their future happineſs, might feel their courage damped, and might one day, perhaps, be tempted to prefer dependence and peace to a tempeſtuous independence, which would expoſe them to dangers and bloodſhed. It is then that it would be advantageous to thoſe people to have deprived themſelves of the power of making peace with their oppreſſors, and to have veſted that power in the hands of a ſenate which they had choſen to be the organ of their will at a time when that will was free, haughty and courageous. It ſeems as if they had told their ſenate at the time of their inſtitution, we raiſe the ſtandard of war againſt our tyrants; if our arms ſhould grow weary of the fight, if we ſhould ever be capable of degrading ourſelves ſo far as to ſue for repoſe, ſupport us againſt our weakneſs: do not attend to wiſhes unworthy of ourſelves, which we previouſly diſavow; and do not pronounce the name of peace till our chains ſhall be entirely broken.

Accordingly, if we conſult the hiſtory of republics, we ſhall find that the multitude have almoſt always the impetuoſity and the ardour of the firſt moment; but that it is only in a ſmall number of men choſen and fit to ſerve as chiefs, in whom reſide thoſe conſtant and vigorous reſolutions which proceed with a firm and certain ſtep towards a great aim, and which are never altered, but obſtinately ſtruggle againſt calamities, fortune, and mankind.

War begins between the United States and England.

However this may be, and whatever ſide we may take in this political diſcuſſion, the Americans had not yet formed their ſyſtem of government, when in the month of March, Hopkins was carrying off from the Engliſh iſlands of Providence a very numerous artillery, and a great quantity of warlike ſtores; when at the beginning of May, Carleton drove away from Canada the Provincials who were employed in reducing Quebec, in order to finiſh the conqueſt of that

BOOK XVIII. great poſſeſſion; when in June, Clinton and Parker were ſo vigorouſly driven back upon the coaſt of South America. The declaration of independence was followed by greater ſcenes.

Howe had ſucceeded the feeble Gage. It was even the new general who had evacuated Boſton. Received in Halifax on the ſecond of April, he quitted it the tenth of June to go to Staten Iſland, where he was ſucceſſively joined by the land and ſea forces which he expected; and on the 28th of Auguſt he landed without oppoſition upon Long Iſland, under the protection of a fleet commanded by the admiral his brother. The Americans did not diſplay much more vigour in the inland countries than upon the coaſts. After a trifling reſiſtance and conſiderable loſſes they took refuge on the continent, with a facility which a conqueror, who had known how to improve his advantages, would never have given them.

The new republicans forſook the city of New York with ſtill greater facility than they had evacuated Long Iſland, and they had retired to Kingſbridge, where every thing ſeemed diſpoſed for an obſtinate reſiſtance.

Had the Engliſh followed up their firſt ſucceſſes with that activity which the circumſtances required, the new levies which were oppoſed to them would infallibly have been diſperſed or obliged to lay down their arms. Six weeks were allowed them to recover themſelves, and they did not abandon their intrenchments till the night of the 2d of November, when they were convinced, by the motions which were made under their eyes, that their camp was going to be attacked.

Waſhington their chief did not chooſe to truſt the fate of his country to an action which might have been, and which muſt naturally have been, deciſive againſt the great intereſts he was entruſted with. He knew that delays are always favourable to the inhabitants of a country and fatal to ſtrangers. This conviction determined him to fall back upon the Jerſeys with the

intention of protracting the war. Favoured by the winter, by the knowledge of the country, by the nature of the territory, which deprived diſcipline of part of its advantages, he might flatter himſelf that he ſhould be able to cover the greateſt part of this fertile province, and to keep the enemy at a diſtance from Pennſylvania. All of a ſudden he found his colours forſaken by ſoldiers, who were engaged for no more than ſix or even three months, and from an army of five-and-twenty thouſand men, he ſcarcely kept together two thouſand five hundred, with whom he found himſelf very fortunate to eſcape beyond the Delaware.

Without loſing a moment the royal troops ought to have croſſed the river in purſuit of this ſmall number of fugitives, and to have completed the diſperſion of them. If the five thouſand men deſtined for the conqueſt of Rhode Iſland had gone up the river upon the ſhips they were on board of, the junction of the two corps would have been made without oppoſition in Philadelphia itſelf, and the new republic would have been extinguiſhed in the famous and intereſting city which had given it birth.

The Engliſh general was perhaps cenſured at that time for having been too timorous and too circumſpect in the operations of the field. It is however certain, that he was raſh in the diſtribution of his winter-quarters. He ſettled them as if there had not been a ſingle individual in America, who either had the power or the inclination to moleſt them.

This preſumption emboldened the militia of Pennſylvania, of Maryland, and of Virginia, who had united for their common ſafety. The 25th of December they croſſed the Delaware, and fell unawares upon Trentown, which was occupied by fifteen hundred of the twelve thouſand Heſſians who had been ſo baſely ſold to Great Britain by their avaricious maſter. This corps was either maſſacred, taken, or entirely diſperſed. A week after, three Engliſh regiments were alſo driven out of Princes Town, but not without having

BOOK XVIII. shown more courage than the foreign troops in their pay. These unexpected events reduced the enterprises of America in Jersey to the posts of Amboy and of Brunswick; and they were even much harassed there during the remainder of the bad season. The effect of great passions and great dangers is frequently to astonish the soul, and to plunge it in a kind of stupor which deprives it of the use of its powers. By degrees it comes to itself and recovers. All its faculties, suspended for a moment, exert themselves with greater energy. It strains all its springs, and its strength becomes equal to its situation. In a great multitude some individuals first experience this effect, and it is quickly communicated to all. This revolution had been accomplished in the confederate states, and armed men issued forth from all quarters of them.

The campaign of 1777 was opened very late. The English army despairing of making a road to Pennsylvania through the Jerseys, embarked at length on the 23d of July, and arrived by Chesapeak Bay, in a country which their generals might be censured for not having invaded the preceding year. Their march was not interrupted till they came to Brandewine, where they attacked and defeated the Americans on the 11th of September, and arrived on the 30th at Philadelphia, which had been abandoned by congress on the 25th, and by a great number of the inhabitants some days sooner or later.

This conquest was attended with no consequences. The conquerors beheld nothing but hatred and devastation around them. Confined in a very circumscribed space, they met with unsurmountable obstacles in extending themselves upon an uncultivated territory. Their gold even did not furnish them with resources from the neighbouring districts, and they could only acquire their subsistence from across the seas. Wearied with a confinement which had lasted nine months, they determined to regain New York by the Jerseys; and this long and dangerous retreat was accomplished under the command of Clinton, who had succeeded

Howe, with leſs loſs than they would have ſuffered from a more experienced enemy.

While the Engliſh were languiſhing in Pennſylvania a vaſt ſcene was opening in the more northern countries of America. In the month of May 1776, Carleton had driven away the provincials from Canada, and deſtroyed in October the ſhips of war which had been conſtructed upon lake Champlain. This ſucceſs carried Burgoyne to Ticonderago, in the month of July of the enſuing year. At his approach, the garriſon of four thouſand men abandoned this important poſt with the loſs of their artillery, ammunition, and rear guard.

The Engliſh general was naturally preſumptuous, and his boldneſs was increaſed by theſe evident ſigns of weakneſs. He had conceived the deſign of uniting the troops of Canada with thoſe of New York by the ſhores of Hudſon's Bay. This project was great and daring. Had it ſucceeded it would have divided South America into two parts, and perhaps have ended the war. But in order to make it ſucceed, it was neceſſary that while one army was going down the river another ſhould be coming up it. This plan having failed, Burgoyne ought to have perceived from the firſt that his enterpriſe was chimerical. It became more ſo every march. His communications became more diſtant and his proviſions were diminiſhing. The courage of the Americans being revived, they aſſembled and cloſed him on all ſides. At length this unfortunate army found itſelf ſurrounded on the 13th October at Saratoga, and the nations heard with aſtoniſhment, that ſix thouſand of the beſt diſciplined troops of the Old Hemiſphere, had laid down their arms before the huſbandmen of the New Hemiſphere, under the conduct of the fortunate Gates. Thoſe who recollected that the Swedes of Charles XII. who had till then been invincible, had capitulated to the Ruſſians, who were ſtill in a ſtate of barbariſm, did not cenſure the Engliſh troops, and only blamed the imprudence of their general.

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This event, ſo deciſive in the opinion of our politicians, was attended with no greater conſequences than had reſulted from actions leſs favourable to the American arms. After three years ſpent in battles, devaſtation, and maſſacres, affairs were much in the ſame ſituation as they were a fortnight after the commencement of hoſtilities. Let us endeavour to inveſtigate the cauſe of this ſtrange ſingularity.

What is the reaſon that the Engliſh have not ſucceeded in ſubduing the confederate provinces.

England, accuſtomed to ſtormy times in her own country, did not at firſt perceive all the dangerous tendency of the tempeſt which was riſing in her diſtant poſſeſſions. Her troops had been a long time inſulted at Boſton. An authority independent of her own had been formed in Maſſachuſet's Bay; the other colonies were preparing to follow that example before adminiſtration had ſeriouſly attended to thoſe great objects. When they were laid before parliament they excited much clamours in both houſes, and there was no end to the debates. The ſenate of the nation at length determined, that the country which rebelled againſt its decrees ſhould be compelled by force to ſubmit to them. But this violent reſolution was carried into execution with that delay which is but too common in free ſtates.

England was generally of opinion, that defenceleſs coaſts and countries, which were entirely laid open, could not long reſiſt her fleets and her armies. It did not appear to her, that this expedition would continue long enough to give the peaceful cultivators of America time to inſtruct themſelves in the art of war. She did not take into conſideration the climate, the rivers, the defiles, the woods, the moraſſes, the want of ſubſiſtence increaſing in proportion as one advanced in the inland countries, together with an infinite number of other natural obſtacles which would impede any rapid progreſs in a country three-fourths of which were uncultivated, and which ought to be conſidered as a recent one.

The ſucceſſes were ſtill more retarded by the influence of moral cauſes.

Great Britain is the region of parties. Her kings have moſt generally been convinced of the neceſſity of abandoning the direction of affairs to the prevailing faction, by which they were commonly conducted with intelligence and vigour, becauſe the principal agents who compoſed it were animated with one common intereſt. At that time, to the public ſpirit which prevails more in England than in any European government, was added the ſtrength of faction, and that ſpirit of party which is perhaps the firſt ſpring of a republic, and which ſo powerfully agitates the ſoul, becauſe it is always the effect of ſome paſſion. George III. in order to free himſelf from this long tutelage, compoſed his council of members unconnected with each other. This innovation was not attended with great inconveniences, as long as events moved on in their ordinary circle. But when the American war had complicated a machine which was already too intricate, it was perceived that it had no longer that power and that union ſo neceſſary to accompliſh great things. The wheels, too much divided, wanted, as it were, one common impulſe and a centre of motion. Their progreſſion was alternately tardy and precipitate. The adminiſtration reſembled too much that of an ordinary monarchy, when the principle of action doth not come from the head of an active and intelligent monarch, who himſelf collects under his own management all the ſprings of government. There was no longer any harmony in the enterpriſes, nor was there any more in the execution of them.

A miniſtry without harmony and without concord was expoſed to the attacks inceſſantly renewed of an adverſe body of men united and compacted together. Their reſolutions, whatever they might be, were oppoſed with ridicule and with argument. They were cenſured for having acted with violence againſt citizens at a diſtance; and they would have been equally cenſured, had they treated them with more circumſpection. Even thoſe who in parliament exclaimed the moſt vehemently againſt the treatment the Americans

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had met with, thoſe who encouraged them the moſt to reſiſtance, thoſe who perhaps ſent them ſecret ſuccours, were as much averſe from their independence, as the miniſter whom they were inceſſantly endeavouring to degrade or to render odious. If the oppoſition had ſucceeded in diſguſting the prince of his confidents, or had prevailed upon him to ſacrifice them on account of the clamours of the nation, the project of conquering America would ſtill have been purſued; but with more dignity, with more ſtrength, and with meaſures perhaps better adapted. But as the reduction of the provinces was not to be accompliſhed by them, they choſe rather that this immenſe part of the Britiſh empire ſhould be ſeparated from it, than that it ſhould remain attached to it by any other means than theirs.

The generals did not repair, by their activity, the errors of theſe contradictions, and of the delays which were the conſequence of them. They granted too long repoſe to the ſoldiers; they waſted in deliberation the time which they ſhould have employed in action; they marched up to new raiſed troops with as much precaution as they would have taken againſt veterans. The Engliſh, who are ſo impetuous in their factions, diſplay on all other occaſions a calm and cool character. They require violent paſſions to agitate them. When this ſtimulus is wanting, they calculate all their motions. Then they conduct themſelves according to the tenor of their character, which in general, except in the arts of imagination and taſte, is univerſally mechanical and prudent. In war, their valour never loſes ſight of military principles, and leaves little to chance. They ſcarce ever leave upon their flanks, or in their rear, any thing that can give them uneaſineſs. This ſyſtem hath its advantages, eſpecially in a narrow and confined country, in a country thick ſet with fortreſſes or military poſts. But in the preſent circumſtances, and on the vaſt continent of America, againſt a people to whom one ſhould not have allowed time to fortify themſelves, nor to inure themſelves to war,

the perfection of the art would perhaps have been, to lay it entirely aſide; to ſubſtitute to it an impetuous and rapid march, and that boldneſs which at once aſtoniſhes, ſtrikes, and overthows. It was in the firſt inſtances eſpecially, that it would have been proper to impreſs the Americans, not with the terror of ravages, which irritate rather than they frighten a people armed for their liberty; but with that which ariſes from the ſuperiority of talents and of arms, and which a warlike people of the Old World ought naturally to have carried into the New one. The confidence of victory would ſoon have been victory itſelf. But by too much circumſpection, by too ſervile an attachment to principles and to rules, commanders of little ſkill failed in rendering that ſervice to their country which ſhe expected, and had a right to expect from them. BOOK XVIII.

The troops, on the other hand, did not preſs their officers to lead them on to action. They arrived from a country, where the cauſe which had obliged them to croſs ſo many ſeas excited no concern. It was, in the eyes of the people, an effervescence which would have no conſequences. They confounded the debates which it occaſioned in parliament, with other debates, which were often of little importance. It was not talked of; and if any perſon happened to mention it, they appeared to be no more intereſted in it, than in that kind of news which, in great cities, employs the lounging hours of every day. The indifference of the nation had communicated itſelf to thoſe who were to defend their rights. Perhaps even they were apprehenſive of gaining too deciſive an advantage over fellow-citizens, who had only taken up arms to prevent ſlavery. In all the monarchies of Europe, the ſoldier is only the inſtrument of deſpotiſm, and his ſentiments are analogous. He thinks he belongs to the throne, and not to his country; and a hundred thouſand men in arms are nothing more than one hundred thouſand diſciplined and terrible ſlaves. The habit even of exerciſing the empire of force, to which every thing

BOOK XVIII. gives way, contributes to extinguiſh in them all idea of liberty. Finally, the diſcipline, and military ſubordination, which, at the command of one ſingle man, puts thouſands in motion; which doth not ſuffer the ſoldier either to ſee or to aſk queſtions; and which, on the firſt ſignal, makes it a rule to kill or to die, tends completely to change in them thoſe ſentiments into principles, and makes them as it were the moral ſyſtem of their condition. It is not the ſame in England. The influence of the conſtitution is ſo powerful, that it extends even to the troops. A man there is a citizen before he is a ſoldier. Public opinion agreeing with the conſtitution, honours one of theſe titles, and thinks little of the other. Accordingly, we ſee from the hiſtory of the revolutions that have happened in this turbulent iſland, that the Engliſh ſoldier, though enliſted for life, preſerves a paſſion for political liberty, the idea of which cannot be eaſily conceived in our regions of ſlavery.

How is it poſſible that the ardour which was wanting to the Britiſh troops ſhould have animated the Heſſians, the Brunſwickers, and the other Germans, ranged under the ſame ſtandards, and all of them equally diſſatisfied with the ſovereigns who had ſold them, diſſatisfied with the prince who had purchaſed them, diſſatisfied with the nation that paid them, and diſſatisfied with their comrades, who deſpiſed them as mercenaries? Beſides, they had alſo in the enemy's camp, brothers whom they were afraid of deſtroying, and by whoſe hands they would not have wiſhed to be wounded.

The ſpirit of the Britiſh armies was alſo changed, in conſequence of a revolution which had taken place in the manners of the nation for about fifteen or eighteen years paſt. The ſucceſſes of the laſt war; the extenſion commerce had received after the peace; the great acquiſitions made in the Eaſt Indies; all theſe means of wealth had accumulated uninterruptedly prodigious riches in Great Britain. Theſe treaſures kindled the deſire of freſh enjoyments. The great went in ſearch

of this art in foreign countries, especially in France, and brought with them the poison of it into their own country. From the men of high rank, it soon diffused itself among all orders of men. To a haughty, simple, and reserved character, succeeded the taste for parade, dissipation, and gallantry. The travellers who had formerly visited this island, so celebrated, thought themselves under another sky. The contagion had even gained the troops; they carried into the New Hemisphere that passion they had contracted in the Old one, for play, the inclination for all the conveniences of life, and for high living. In quitting the coasts, they should have renounced all the superfluities to which they were attached; and that taste for luxury, that ardour, so much the more violent as it was recent, did not encourage them to follow into the inland parts, men who were always ready to fall back upon them. Ye new politicians, who advance with so much confidence, that the manners have no kind of influence upon the destiny of states; that for them the measure of their grandeur is that of their riches; that the luxury of peace, and the voluptuous pursuits of the citizen, cannot weaken the effect of those great machines which are called armies, and the sensible and terrible impulse of which European discipline hath brought to so great perfection: you who, to support your opinion, turn your eyes away from the ashes of Carthage and the ruins of Rome, suspend at least your judgment at the account I am giving you, and acknowledge that there may perhaps be opportunities of success, which luxury prevents us from availing ourselves of. Acknowledge that for troops even that are brave, it has been often the first source of victory, that they had no wants. It is too easy a matter, perhaps, to have nothing but death to face. Nations corrupted by wealth have a more difficult trial to undergo; that of supporting the privation of their pleasures.

Let us add to all these reasons, that the instruments of war do not often arrive across the seas in the proper seasons for action. Let us add, that the councils of

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George III. had too much influence over military operations, which were to be carried on at ſo great a diſtance from them; and we ſhall then comprehend moſt of the obſtacles which impeded the ſucceſs of the ruinous efforts of the mother-country againſt the liberty of the colonies.

Why have not the confederate provinces ſucceeded in driving the Engliſh from the continent of America?

But wherefore did not America herſelf repulſe from her ſhores the Europeans who were bringing death or ſlavery to her?

This New World was defended by regular troops, which at firſt had been enliſted only for three or ſix months, and afterwards for three years, or even for all the time hoſtilities might laſt. It was defended by citizens, who only took the field when their particular province was either invaded or threatened. Neither the ſtanding army, nor the militia aſſembled for a time, breathed the military ſpirit. They were planters, merchants, lawyers, exerciſed only in the arts of peace, and led on to danger by commanders as little verſed as their ſubalterns in the very complicated ſcience of military actions. In this ſtate of things, what hope was there of their acting with advantage againſt men grown old in diſcipline, trained to evolutions, ſkilled in tactics, and abundantly provided with all the inſtruments neceſſary for a briſk attack, and for an obſtinate reſiſtance?

Enthuſiaſm alone could have ſurmounted ſuch difficulties. But did it really exiſt more in the colonies than in the mother-country?

The general opinion in England was, that the parliament had eſſentially the right of taxing all the regions which conſtituted a part of the Britiſh empire. At the commencement of the troubles, there were not perhaps a hundred individuals who would have called this authority in queſtion. Nevertheleſs, the refuſal of the Americans to acknowledge it, did not ſet the minds of men againſt them. There was no hatred entertained againſt them, even after they had taken up arms to ſupport their pretenſions. As the labours in the inland parts of the kingdom were not affected, and

as the thunder was only heard at a diſtance, every one attended peaceably to his own affairs, or devoted himſelf quietly to his pleaſures. All of them expected, without impatience, the end of a ſcene, the termination of which did not indeed appear uncertain to them.

The ferment muſt at firſt have broken out with more violence in the New than in the Old Hemiſphere. Hath ever the odious name of tyranny, or the pleaſing word of independence, been pronounced to the nations, without raiſing emotions in them? But was this ardour kept up? If the imaginations of men had been maintained in their firſt ſtate of commotion, would it not have been the buſineſs of a riſing authority to attend to the ſuppreſſion of the exceſs of it? But, far from having boldneſs to reſtrain it, it was cowardice they had to guard againſt. They puniſhed deſertion with death, and ſtained the ſtandard of liberty with aſſaſſinations. They refuſed to exchange priſoners, for fear of increaſing in the troops their inclination to ſurrender at the firſt ſummons. They were reduced to the neceſſity of erecting tribunals, appointed to proſecute their generals or their lieutenants who ſhould abandon too lightly the poſts committed to their truſt. It is true, an old man of fourſcore years of age, whom they wanted to ſend back to his home, exclaimed, *My death may be uſeful; I ſhall cover with my body a younger man than I am.* It is true that Putnam ſaid to a loyaliſt who was his priſoner, *Return to your commander; and if he ſhould aſk you how many troops I have, tell him I have enough; that if even he ſhould beat them, there will remain enough; and that he will experience, in the end, that I ſhall have enough for him, and for the tyrants whom he ſerves.* Theſe ſentiments were heroic, but rare; and they became leſs common every day.

The intoxication was never general, and indeed could only be temporary. Of all the cauſes of energy which have produced ſo many revolutions on the globe, none exiſted in the North of America. No outrage had been committed either againſt religion or

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the laws. The blood of martyrs and of citizens had not flowed upon the ſcaffolds. The morals had received no inſult. The manners and the cuſtoms, none of thoſe objects to which the people are ſo much attached, had been delivered up to ridicule. Arbitrary power had not dragged any inhabitant from the midſt of his family and his friends, to plunge him into the horrors of a priſon. Public order had not been ſubverted. The principles of adminiſtration had not been altered; and the maxims of government had remained always the ſame. The only circumſtance was to know, whether the mother-country had or had not the right, directly or indirectly, of laying a ſlight tax on the colonies; for the accumulated grievances mentioned in the manifeſto aroſe only from this firſt grievance. This queſtion, which is almoſt a metaphyſical one, was ſcarce proper to raiſe an inſurrection among the multitude, or at leaſt to intereſt them ſtrongly in a quarrel, for which they ſaw their lands deprived of the aſſiſtances neceſſary to fertilize them, their harveſts ravaged, and their fields covered with the dead bodies of their relations, or ſtained with their own blood. To theſe calamities, which were occaſioned by the royal troops on the coaſt, others were ſoon added, ſtill more inſupportable, in the inland parts of the country.

Whenever the reſtleſſneſs of the courts of London and Verſailles had diſturbed North America, thoſe two powers had always drawn into their ſanguinary conteſts the wandering inhabitants of this part of the New Hemiſphere. Informed by experience how much weight theſe hordes of ſavages could throw into the ſcale, the Engliſh and the coloniſts reſolved equally to employ them to their mutual deſtruction.

Carleton firſt endeavoured to put arms into the hands of theſe barbarians in Canada. They anſwered his applications with ſaying, "This is a diſpute be-
"tween a father and his children; it does not become
"us to interfere in this domeſtic quarrel."—"But if
"the rebels ſhould come to attack this province,
"would you not aſſiſt us in repelling them?"—

"Since the peace, the hatchet of war is buried forty "fathom deep."—"You could certainly find it, if "you were to dig for it."—"The handle is rotten, "and we could make no uſe of it."

The United States were not more ſucceſsful. "We "have heard of the differences that have ariſen be- "tween Old and New England," ſaid the tribe of the Oneidas to their deputies. "We will never take a "part in conteſts of ſo atrocious a nature. A war "between brothers is a thing new and unknown in "theſe regions. Our traditions have not left us any "inſtance of this kind. Extinguiſh your extravagant "hatred; and may a more ſerene ſky diſpel the dark "cloud that ſurrounds you."

The Maſphis alone ſeemed to intereſt themſelves in the fate of the Americans. "Here are ſixteen ſhil- "lings for you," ſaid theſe good ſavages. "It is all "we are worth. We intended to buy ſome rum with "it; but we will drink water. We will go to the "chaſe; and if we ſhould kill any animals, we will "ſell their ſkins, and bring you the money."

But in proceſs of time, the very active emiſſaries of Great Britain ſucceeded in bringing over to her ſide ſeveral of the original nations. Her intereſts were pre- ferred to thoſe of her enemies, becauſe the diſtance had not allowed her ſubjects to commit the ſame out- rages againſt the ſavages as they had received from their proud neighbours, and becauſe ſhe was both able and inclined to pay more liberally for the ſervices ſhe might receive from them. Under her colours theſe allies, whoſe ferocious character knew no reſtraint, did infinitely more miſchief to the coloniſts ſettled near the mountains, than ſuch of their fellow-citizens who had the good fortune to be ſettled near the borders of the ocean received from the royal troops.

Theſe calamities fell only upon a more or leſs con- ſiderable number of the Americans; but they were ſoon all of them afflicted with an internal misfortune.

The metals, which cover the face of the whole globe, and repreſent all the objects of commerce, were

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never abundant in this part of the New World. The ſmall quantity that was found there even diſappeared at the firſt breaking out of hoſtilities. To theſe ſigns of univerſal convention were ſubſtituted others peculiar to theſe diſtricts. Paper ſupplied the want of money. To give ſome kind of dignity to this new pledge, it was ſurrounded with emblems calculated to recal continually to the minds of the people the greatneſs of their enterpriſe, the ineſtimable value of liberty, and the neceſſity of a perſeverance ſuperior to all misfortunes. The artifice did not ſucceed; and theſe ideal riches were rejected. The more did neceſſity oblige them to be multiplied, the more did their diſcredit increaſe. The congreſs was offended with the inſult done to their coin; and they declared traitors to their country all thoſe who ſhould not receive it as they would have received gold.

Did not the congreſs then know, that authority can no more be exerted over the mind than over opinion? Were they not ſenſible, that, in the preſent criſis, every reaſonable citizen would be apprehenſive of riſking his fortune? Did they not perceive, that, at the origin of the republic, they indulged themſelves in acts of deſpotiſm unknown in countries that are even formed to ſervitude? Could they conceal from themſelves that they puniſhed a want of confidence with the ſame puniſhment which would ſcarce have been merited for revolt and treaſon? The congreſs perceived all this, but had no choice of means. Their contemptible and rejected paper was actually thirty times below its original value, when they fabricated more of it. On the 13th September 1779, there was circulating among the public to the amount of 799,744,000 livres [33,322,666l. 13s. 4d.] of it. The ſtate was then indebted 188,670,525 livres [7,861,271l. 17s. 6d.], excluſive of the debts peculiar to each province.

The people were not indemnified for a calamity which might be called domeſtic, by a free intercourſe with all the other parts of the globe. Great Britain had intercepted their navigation with the Weſt Indies,

and with all the latitudes which were covered with their ſhips. They then declared to the world, "It is "the Engliſh name which hath rendered us odious; "we ſolemnly abjure it. All men are our brethren. "We are the friends of every nation. All flags may "appear upon our coaſts, and frequent our ports, "without fear of inſult." But this invitation, apparently ſo alluring, was not complied with. The ſtates that were really commercial being appriſed that North America had been obliged to contract debts at the period even of its greateſt proſperity, judiciouſly imagined, that, in its preſent diſtreſs, it would be able to pay very little for what was brought to it. The French alone dared to brave the inconveniencies of this new connection. But by the enlightened vigilance of Admiral Howe, moſt of the ſhips which they fitted out were taken before they arrived to the place of their deſtination, and the reſt at their departure from the American ſhores. Of ſeveral hundred ſhips ſent out from France, no more than twenty-five or thirty returned; and even theſe were of little or no benefit to their owners. BOOK XVIII.

A number of privations, added to ſo many calamities, might have made the Americans regret their former tranquillity, and inclined them to a reconciliation with England. In vain were the people bound by the faith of oaths, and by the influence of religion, to the new government. In vain had it been endeavoured to convince them of the impoſſibility of negotiating ſafely with a mother-country, in which one parliament could ſubvert what had been regulated by another. In vain had they been threatened with the eternal reſentment of an affronted and vindictive enemy. It was poſſible that theſe diſtant apprehenſions might not counterbalance the weight of the preſent calamities.

Such was the opinion of the Britiſh miniſtry, when they ſent public agents into the New World, who were authoriſed to offer any terms ſhort of independence to thoſe very Americans, from whom, two years

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before, an unlimited ſubmiſſion had been required. There is ſome probability that this plan of conciliation might have been ſucceſsful ſome months before. But at the period when the court of London ſent to propoſe it, it was haughtily rejected, becauſe this ſtep appeared only to be the effect of fear and weakneſs. The people were already re-animated; the congreſs, the generals, the troops, the intelligent or bold men who in every colony had aſſumed the authority, all, in a word, had recovered their former ſpirit. This was the effect of a treaty of friendſhip and commerce between the United States and the court of Verſailles, which was ſigned on the 6th of February 1778.

France acknowledges the independence of the United States. This ſtep occaſions a war between that crown and the crown of England.

Had the Engliſh miniſtry reflected, they would have comprehended that the ſame delirium which cauſed them to attack their colonies, ſhould have compelled them inſtantly to declare war againſt France. The circumſpection which ought always to attend a new reign then prevailed in the councils of this crown. Their finances were then in that ſtate of confuſion into which they had been plunged by twenty years perſeverance in folly. The ruined ſtate of their navy then raiſed anxiety in the breaſt of every citizen. Spain, already haraſſed with her extravagant expedition againſt Algiers, was then ſurrounded with difficulties which would have prevented her from being able to aſſiſt her allies. England might, without raſhneſs, have flattered herſelf with ſucceſs againſt the moſt powerful of her enemies, and might have intimidated America by victories obtained in its neighbourhood. The importance it was of to this crown, to deprive its rebellious ſubjects of the only ſupport they were certain of, would have diminiſhed the indignation excited by the violation of the moſt ſolemn treaties.

George III. ſaw nothing of all this. The clandeſtine ſuccours which the court of Verſailles uſed to ſend to the provinces in arms for the defence of their rights did not open his eyes. The dock-yards of this power were filled with ſhip-builders, its arſenals were ſtocking with artillery, and there remained no more room

in its magazines for freſh naval ſtores. Its harbours preſented the moſt menacing aſpect, and yet this ſtrange infatuation ſtill continued. To rouſe the court of St. James's from its lethargy, it was neceſſary that Lewis XVI. ſhould cauſe it to be ſignified to them on the 14th March, that he had acknowledged the independence of the United States. BOOK XVIII.

This declaration was a declaration of war. It was impoſſible that a nation, more accuſtomed to give than to take an affront, ſhould patiently ſuffer that its ſubjects ſhould be releaſed from their oath of allegiance, and be raiſed with ſplendour to the rank of ſovereign powers. All Europe foreſaw that two nations, which had been rivals for ſo many centuries, were going to ſtain with blood the waters of the ocean, and engage again in that terrible conflict in which public proſperity can never compenſate private diſtreſs. Thoſe in whom ambition had not extinguiſhed every ſentiment of benevolence towards their fellow-creatures, previouſly deplored the calamities which were ready to fall upon the human race in both hemiſpheres.

The bloody ſcene, however, was not yet begun, and this delay inſpired ſome credulous perſons with the hopes that peace would continue. It was not known that a fleet had ſailed from Toulon with directions to attack the Engliſh in the North of America. It was not known that there were orders ſent from London to drive away the French out of the Eaſt Indies. Without being initiated in theſe myſteries of perfidy, which an inſidious policy hath made to be conſidered as great ſtrokes of ſtate, men who were really enlightened judged that hoſtilities were unavoidable, and even near at hand on our own ocean. This foreſeen event was brought about by an engagement between two frigates on the 17th June 1778.

Here our taſk becomes more and more difficult. Our ſole aim is to be uſeful and true. Far from us be that ſpirit of party which faſcinates and diſgraces thoſe who lead mankind, or who aſpire to inſtruct them. Our wiſhes will be for our country, and we

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shall pay homage to justice. In whatever place, and under whatever form, virtue shall present herself to us, we shall honour her. The distinction of society and of states cannot estrange us from her, and the just and magnanimous man will everywhere be our fellow-citizen. If in the different events which we review we have the courage to blame what appears to us to deserve it, we do not seek the melancholy and idle satisfaction of dealing out indiscriminate censure. But we address ourselves to the nations and to posterity. It is our duty faithfully to transmit to them whatever may influence the public felicity. It is our duty to give them the history of the faults that are committed, in order that they may be instructed to avoid them. Should we dare to betray this noble duty, we should perhaps flatter the present generation, which is fleeting, and passeth away; but justice and truth, which are eternal, would denounce us to future generations, which would read us with contempt, and would never pronounce our name without disdain. In this long career we have undertaken, we will be just to those who still exist, as we have been to those who are no more. If among men in power there be any who are offended with this liberty, we will not be afraid to say to them, that we are only the organs of a supreme tribunal, which is at length erected by reason upon an immoveable foundation. Every government in Europe must henceforth dread its decrees. The public opinion, which becomes more and more enlightened, and which is neither stopped nor intimidated by any thing, is perpetually attentive to nations and to courts. It penetrates into cabinets where policy is shut up: there it judges the depositaries of power, their passions, and their weakness, and, by the empire of genius and knowledge, raises itself above the governors of mankind, either to direct or to restrain them. Woe to those who either disdain this tribunal, or set it at defiance! This apparent boldness arises only from inability. Woe to those whose talents are insufficient to bear its examination! Let them do themselves justice,

let them lay down a burden too heavy for their feeble hands. They will at leaſt no longer compromiſe themſelves and the States. BOOK XVIII.

France began the war with invaluable advantages. The place, the time, the circumſtances, every thing ſhe had choſen. It was not till after having made preparations at leiſure, till after having brought her forces to that degree which was proper, that ſhe ſhowed herſelf upon the field of battle. She had only to combat an enemy humbled, weakened, and diſcouraged by domeſtic diſſenſions. The favour of the other nations was on her ſide againſt thoſe imperious maſters, or, as it was ſaid, againſt thoſe tyrants of the ſeas.

The events ſeemed favourable to the wiſhes of all Europe. The French officers, who had former humiliations to efface, exerted themſelves in brilliant actions, the remembrance of which will laſt for a long time. A ſkilful theory and an undaunted courage ſupplied any deficiency there might be on the point of experience. In all the private engagements they came off with glory, and moſt of them terminated to their advantage. The Britiſh fleet was expoſed to ſtill greater dangers than the ſeparate ſhips were. It was ſo ill treated, that its total or partial deſtruction was apprehended, if the fleet which had reduced it to this deplorable ſtate off Uſhant had not determined, from timid orders, from odious intrigues, from the weakneſs of the admirals, or from all theſe motives combined, to quit the ſea and re-enter firſt into port.

In the intoxication of this ſucceſs, perhaps unexpected, France ſeemed to loſe ſight of her moſt important intereſts. Her principal object ſhould have been to intercept the trade of her enemies, to deprive them of the double ſtrength they derived from their ſailors and from their riches, and thus to ſap the two foundations of Engliſh greatneſs. Nothing was more eaſy to accompliſh by a power long prepared for hoſtilities, than to intercept the trading navy, entirely off its guard, and attended with very feeble convoys.

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But this was neglected, and the immenſe riches which Great Britain expected from all parts of the globe, entered quietly into her harbours, even without the leaſt loſs.

The trade of France, on the contrary, was haraſſed in both hemiſpheres, and intercepted everywhere. Her colonies beheld the ſubſiſtence which they were expecting, with all the anxiety of want, carried off from their own coaſt; and the mother-country found itſelf deprived of fourſcore or a hundred millions [from 3,333,333l. 6s. 8d. to 4,166,666l. 13s. 4d.] almoſt within her own view. Theſe misfortunes certainly aroſe from ſome cauſe, which we will endeavour to inveſtigate.

The French navy had for a long time been unfortunate, and its numerous calamities were attributed to the defect of its conſtitution. Several attempts were made either to modify or to alter the regulations; but theſe innovations, whether good or bad, were always rejected with more or leſs viſible diſdain. At length the admirals dictated themſelves in 1776, an ordinance, which, by making them abſolute maſters of the harbours, of the arſenals, of the docks, and of the magazines, deſtroyed that mutual ſuperintendence which Lewis XIV. had thought proper to eſtabliſh between the officers of the navy and thoſe of adminiſtration. From that time there was no more order, no more reſponſibility, no more economy in the ports; every thing there fell into confuſion and diſorder.

The new plan had ſtill a more fatal influence. Till that period the miniſtry had directed their naval operations in a manner ſuitable to their political plans. This authority was transferred, without being perceived, perhaps to thoſe who were to carry theſe operations into execution; and they imperceptibly acquired the tint of their prejudices, which led them to believe that it was not by heavy and laborious eſcorts of the ſhips of the nation, or by remaining for a length of time on difficult cruiſes, in order to ſurpriſe or deſtroy the veſſels of the enemy, that a reputation was to be

attained. This double duty was therefore either entirely neglected, or very ill fulfilled, on account of the general opinion prevalent at Breſt, that ſuch a ſervice had nothing noble in it, and did not lead to any kind of glory.

It muſt be owned, that this prejudice is a very ſingular one, and entirely contrary to all the laws of ſociety. What can have been the intention of the ſtates in inſtituting this military force deſtined to traverſe the ſeas? Was it only to procure rank to thoſe who commanded or ſerved in it? To give them an opportunity to exert a valour uſeleſs to any but themſelves? To ſtain another element with blood, with carnage, and ſea-fights? Certainly not. The warlike fleets are upon the ocean, what fortreſſes and ramparts are for the citizens of towns, and what national armies are for the provinces expoſed to the ravages of the enemy. There are ſome kinds of property attached to a ſoil; others are created and tranſported by commerce, and are, as it were, wandering upon the ocean. Theſe two ſpecies of property required defenders. Warriors, this is your duty. What ſhould we ſay, if the land forces refuſed to protect the inhabitants of the cities, or the huſbandman of the field againſt the enemy, or to extinguiſh the conflagration which threatens the harveſt? Officers of the navy, you think yourſelves degraded in protecting and convoying the merchantmen. But if commerce be deprived of protectors, what will become of the riches of the ſtate, part of which you undoubtedly expect as a reward for your ſervices? What will become, for yourſelves, of the revenues of your lands, which can only be made fruitful by trade, and by the circulation of wealth? You think yourſelves degraded. What! degraded in rendering yourſelves uſeful to your fellow-citizens? What are then all the orders of the ſtate, to whom government hath intruſted ſome portion of the public ſtrength, but the protectors and the defenders of the citizen and his fortune? Your poſt is upon the ſeas, as that of the magiſtrate is upon the tribunals, that of the land officer and of the ſoldier

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in the camps, that of the monarch upon the throne, where he is only placed upon a more elevated ſituation, in order that his proſpect may be extended to a greater diſtance, and that he may behold at one view all thoſe who require his protection or his defence. You aſpire to glory. Learn that glory is everywhere to be obtained by ſerving the ſtate. The ancient Romans were likewiſe undoubtedly attached to glory, and yet the honour of having preſerved one ſingle citizen in Rome was preferred to that of having deſtroyed a multitude of enemies. Do you not perceive, that in ſaving the trading ſhips you ſave the wealth of the ſtate? Yes, your valour is brilliant; it is known to all Europe, as well as to your own country; but what is it to your fellow-citizens that it hath been diſplayed on a ſplendid occaſion, that it hath taken one of the enemy's ſhips, or covered the waves of the ocean with wrecks and ruins, if you ſuffer all the veſſels which conveyed the riches of your country to be either taken or deſtroyed; if, in the very port to which you return victorious, a multitude of deſolated families deplore the ſubverſion of their fortune? You will not hear the exclamations of victory on your arrival. All will be ſilent, and plunged in conſternation; and your exploits will ſerve no other purpoſe but to ſwell the accounts of the courts, and to fill thoſe public papers which, being invented to amuſe idleneſs, give glory only for a day, when that glory is not engraved in the hearts of the citizens by the remembrance of ſome real ſervice done to the country.

The maxims adopted at Portſmouth were very different. There the dignity of commerce was felt and reſpected. It was conſidered as a duty, as well as an honour, to defend it; and events decided, which of the two navies had the propereſt ideas of their functions.

Great Britain had juſt experienced ſome very humiliating adverſities in the New World, and it was threatened with greater diſaſters by a ſtill more powerful enemy in the Old one. This alarming ſituation filled the

minds of all men with miſtruſt and uncertainty. The national riches came home ſafe, and their enormous maſs was increaſed by thoſe of the rival power; public credit was inſtantly revived; expectations were renewed; and this people, who with ſatisfaction were looked upon as overcome, recovered and ſuſtained their uſual pride.

On the other hand, the French ports were filled with lamentations. A degrading and ruinous inactivity ſucceeded to that activity which gave them ſplendour and riches. The indignation of the merchants communicated itſelf to the whole nation. The firſt moments of ſucceſs are the moments of intoxication, which ſeem either to conceal or to juſtify the faults committed. But misfortune gives greater ſeverity to opinion. The nation then attends more cloſely to thoſe by whom they are governed, and demands from them, with arrogant freedom, an account of the power and authority that is intruſted to them. The councils of Lewis XVI. were accuſed of derogating from the majeſty of the firſt power on the globe, by diſavowing, in the face of the univerſe, the ſuccour which they were inceſſantly ſending clandeſtinely to the Americans. They were accuſed of having, either by a miniſterial intrigue, or by the influence of ſome obſcure agents, engaged the ſtate in a ruinous war, at a time when they ought to have been employed in repairing the ſprings of government, in remedying the tedious diſorders of a reign, the latter half of which had been mean, feeble, divided between depredations and ſhame, between the baſeneſs of vice and the convulſions of deſpotiſm. They were accuſed of having provoked a rupture by an inſidious policy, to have enveloped their meaning in ſpeeches unworthy of France, and to have employed, with regard to England, the language of a timorous boldneſs, which ſeemed to deny the projects that were formed, and the ſentiments they had in their hearts; a language which can only degrade the perſon who makes uſe of it, without being able to deceive him to whom it is addreſſed; and which diſhonours,

BOOK XVIII. while the diſhonour it brings along with it can neither be uſeful to the miniſtry nor to the ſtate. How much more noble would it have been to have ſaid with all the frankneſs of dignity: "Engliſhmen, you have "abuſed your victory. This is the moment to be juſt, "or elſe it will be that of revenge. Europe is tired of "bearing with tyrants. She at length reſumes her "rights. Henceforth chooſe either equality or war." It is thus that Richelieu would have ſpoken; that Richelieu, whom every citizen ought indeed to deteſt, becauſe he was a ſanguinary aſſaſſin, and that in order to become a deſpot, he put all his enemies to death with the ax of the executioner; but the nation and the ſtate muſt revere him as a miniſter, becauſe he was the firſt who apprized France of her dignity, and aſcribed to her in Europe the rank which belonged to her power. It is thus that Lewis XIV. would have ſpoken to them, who during forty years ſhowed himſelf worthy of the age he lived in, whoſe very faults were always mixed with grandeur, and who, even in a ſtate of dejection and misfortune, never degraded himſelf or his people. A great character is required to govern a great nation. More eſpecially, there muſt be none of thoſe ſpirits that are cold and indifferent from levity, for whom abſolute authority is no more than an amuſement, who leave great intereſts to the effects of chance, and who are more employed in preſerving power than in making uſe of it. It is further aſked, why men who had all the power of the ſtate in their hands, and who had only to command in order to be obeyed, have ſuffered themſelves to be foreſtalled in all the ſeas by an enemy whoſe conſtitution neceſſarily produces delays? Why did they put themſelves, by an inconſiderate treaty, into the ſhackles of congreſs, which might itſelf have been kept dependent by plentiful and regular ſubſidies? Laſtly, why did not they ſecure the revolution, by keeping conſtantly upon the northern coaſts of the New World a ſquadron to protect the colonies, and at the ſame time to make our alliance be reſpected? But Europe, whoſe eyes are

fixed upon us, beholds a great deſign, and no concerted meaſures; it beholds in our arſenals and in our ports immenſe preparations, and no execution; it beholds formidable fleets, and this equipment rendered almoſt uſeleſs; it beholds boldneſs and valour in individuals, effeminacy and irreſolution in commanders; every thing which announces on one hand the awful power of a great people, and on the other every thing which announces the weakneſs and delay which ariſe from character and from the nature of the views.

It is by this ſtriking contraſt between our projects and our meaſures, between our means and the ſpirit which animates them, that the Engliſh genius, aſtoniſhed for a moment, hath recovered its vigour; and it is a problem which Europe cannot ſolve, whether, in declaring for America, we have not ourſelves raiſed the ſtrength of England.

Such are the complaints which are heard on all ſides, and which we are not afraid of collecting here, and of laying before the eyes of authority, if it ſhould deign to liſten to or to read them.

Laſtly, philoſophy, whoſe firſt ſentiment is the deſire of ſeeing all governments equitable, and all people happy, in examining this alliance of a monarchy with a people who defend their liberty, endeavours to diſcover the motive of it. It perceives too clearly that the happineſs of mankind hath no concern in it. It imagines, that, if the court of Verſailles had been determined by the love of juſtice, they would have mentioned in the firſt article of the convention with America, that *all people who are oppreſſed have a right to riſe againſt their oppreſſors.* But this maxim, which conſtitutes one of the laws of England, which a king of Hungary, upon aſcending the throne, ventured to make one of the conſtituent principles of the ſtate, and which Trajan, one of the greateſt princes who ever ruled over the earth, adopted, when in preſence of the Roman people aſſembled, he ſaid to the firſt officer of the empire: *I give you up my ſword to defend me while I ſhall be juſt, and to fight againſt me and to*

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puniſh me if I ſhould become a tyrant. This maxim is too foreign to our feeble and corrupt governments, where it is the duty of the people to ſuffer, and where the oppreſſed man ſhould be apprehenſive of feeling his misfortune, for fear he ſhould be puniſhed for it as a crime.

But it is particularly againſt Spain that the moſt bitter complaints are directed. She is cenſured for her blindneſs, her irreſolution, her delays, ſometimes even for her want of fidelity; but all theſe accuſations are groundleſs.

Some politicians imagined, when they beheld France engaging without neceſſity in a naval war, that this crown thought itſelf ſufficiently powerful to ſeparate the dominion of Great Britain, without ſharing with an ally the honour of this important revolution. We will not examine whether the ſpirit which prevailed in the cabinet of Verſailles authoriſed this conjecture. It is now known, that this crown, which ſince the beginning of the troubles had given ſecret aſſiſtance to the Americans, watched the propitious moment for declaring openly in their favour. The event of Saratoga appeared to furniſh the moſt favourable opportunity to propoſe to his Catholic majeſty to join in the common cauſe. Whether this prince then thought that the liberty of the United States was contrary to his intereſts; whether the reſolution appeared to him to be precipitate, or whether, in a word, other political objects required his whole attention, he refuſed to accede to this propoſal. His character prevented any further ſolicitations. Since thoſe firſt attempts he was ſo little troubled about this great affair, that it was without giving him any previous notice, that the court of Verſailles cauſed it to be ſignified to that of St. James's, that they had acknowledged the independence of the confederate provinces.

In the meanwhile the land and ſea-forces which Spain had employed in the Brazils againſt the Portugueſe were returned. The rich fleet ſhe expected from Mexico had entered into her ports. The trea-

ſures which were coming to her from Peru and from her other poſſeſſions were in ſafety. This power was free from any anxiety, and miſtreſs of her own operations, when ſhe aſpired to the glory of introducing peace into both hemiſpheres. Her mediation was accepted, both by France, whoſe boldneſs had not been followed by thoſe happy conſequences ſhe had expected from it, and by England, who might be apprehenſive of having a new adverſary to contend with.

Spain not having ſucceeded in conciliating England with France, declares for the latter of theſe powers.

Charles III. ſupported with dignity the magnanimous part he had undertaken. He declared that arms ſhould be laid aſide; that each of the belligerent powers ſhould be maintained in the poſſeſſions they might occupy at the period of the convention; that a congreſs ſhould be formed, in which the ſeveral pretenſions ſhould be diſcuſſed; and that no new attack ſhould be commenced without the previous notice of a twelvemonth.

This monarch was aware that this arrangement would give to Great Britain the felicity of reconciliation with her colonies, or at leaſt would make them purchaſe by great advantages for her trade the ſacrifice of the ports which ſhe occupied in the midſt of them. Nor was he ignorant of his offending the dignity of the king his nephew, who had engaged to maintain the United States in the entire poſſeſſion of their territories. But he would be juſt; and without ſetting aſide all perſonal conſiderations it is impoſſible to be ſo.

This plan of conciliation was diſpleaſing to the court of Verſailles; and the only hope they had was, that it would be rejected at London, as indeed it was. England could not reſolve to acknowledge the Americans *ipſo facto* independent, although they were not invited to the conferences that were going to be opened; although France was not allowed to negotiate for them; although their intereſts were only to be ſupported by a mediator, who was not attached to them by any treaty, and who, perhaps, in ſecret, did

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not wiſh them to proſper, and although her refuſal threatened her with an additional enemy.

It is in ſuch a ſituation, when pride elevates the ſoul above the ſuggeſtions of fear, that nothing appears formidable, except the ſhame of receiving the law; and that there is no heſitation in chooſing between ruin and diſhonour: it is then that the greatneſs of a nation diſplays itſelf. I acknowledge, however, that men, accuſtomed to judge of the event, conſider great and perilous revolutions as acts of heroiſm or of folly, according to the good or ill ſucceſs that hath attended them. If, therefore, I ſhould be aſked, what name will be given a few years hence to the firmneſs which the Engliſh ſhowed on this occaſion? I ſhall anſwer, that I know not: as to that which they deſerve I know very well. I know that the annals of the world rarely preſent to us the auguſt and majeſtic ſpectacle, of a nation which prefers the giving up of its duration to the loſs of its glory.

No ſooner had the Britiſh miniſtry explained themſelves, than the court of Madrid took the part of that of Verſailles, and conſequently that of the Americans, in the conteſt. Spain had then ſixty-three veſſels of the line, and ſix more upon the ſtocks. France had fourſcore and eight upon the docks. The United States had but twelve frigates, but a great number of privateers.

To ſo many forces united, England had only ninety-five ſhips of the line to oppoſe, and three-and-twenty upon the ſtocks. The other ſixteen which were ſeen in her ports were unfit for ſervice, and they had been converted to the purpoſe of ſhips for receiving priſoners, or into hoſpital ſhips. Thus inferior in the inſtruments of war, this power was ſtill more ſo in the means of employing them upon ſervice. Her domeſtic diſſenſions contributed ſtill more to render ineffectual the reſources ſhe had remaining. It is the nature of governments that are truly free, to be agitated in times of peace. It is by theſe inteſtine commotions that the

minds of men preſerve their energy, and the perpetual remembrance of the rights of the nation. But in time of war it is neceſſary that every ferment ſhould ceaſe, that hatred ſhould be extinguiſhed, and that intereſts ſhould be blended, and made ſubſervient to each other. It happened quite otherwiſe in the Britiſh iſlands; for the diſturbances in them had never been more violent. Oppoſite claims were never ſupported on any occaſion with leſs moderation. The general good was inſolently diſregarded by all factions. Thoſe houſes, in which the moſt important queſtions had formerly been diſcuſſed, with eloquence, ſtrength, and dignity, reſounded only with the clamours of rage, groſs inſults, and altercations as prejudicial as they were indecent. The few perſons who might be called citizens loudly exclaimed for a new Pitt, a miniſter, who like him had *neither relations nor friends;* but this extraordinary man did not appear. And indeed it was generally believed that this nation would fall, notwithſtanding the haughtineſs of their character, notwithſtanding the experience of their admirals, notwithſtanding the boldneſs of their ſeamen, and notwithſtanding the energy which a free people muſt acquire in the diſturbances they experience.

But the ſway of chance is very extenſive. Who knows in favour of which party the elements will declare themſelves? A guſt of wind ſnatches away victory, or gives it. A cannon ſhot diſconcerts a whole army by the death of the general. Signals are either not well underſtood, or not obeyed. Experience, courage, and ſkill, are counteracted by ignorance, by jealouſy, by treaſon, and by the certainty of impunity. A fog ariſing, covers both the enemies, and either ſeparates or confounds them. A calm and a ſtorm are equally favourable or diſadvantageous. The forces are divided by the unequal celerity of the ſhips. The opportunity is loſt, either by puſillanimity, which poſtpones, or by raſhneſs, which haſtens an engagement. Plans may have been formed with prudence, but they may remain without effect, by the want of harmony

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in the evolutions for carrying them into execution. An inconſiderate command from court may decide the misfortune of a day. The diſgrace or death of a miniſter alters the projects. Is it poſſible that a cloſe union can long ſubſiſt between confederates of ſuch oppoſite characters, as the French, who are paſſionate, diſdainful, and volatile; the Spaniards, who are ſlow, haughty, jealous, and cold; and the Americans, who have conſtantly their looks turned towards the mother-country, and who would rejoice at the diſaſters of their allies, if they were compatible with their own independence? Will it be long before theſe nations, whether they act ſeparately or in concert, reciprocally accuſe, complain, and are at variance with each other? Will not their greateſt hope be, that repeated ſtrokes of adverſity would only at moſt plunge them again into the humiliating ſtate from whence they wiſhed to emerge, and confirm the dominion of the ſeas to Great Britain; while one or two conſiderable defeats would for ever remove this ambitious people from the rank of the firſt power of this hemiſphere?

Who can therefore decide; who can even foreſee what will be the event? France and Spain united have the moſt powerful means in their favour; England hath the art of managing her own: France and Spain have their treaſures, England hath a great national credit. On one hand are the multitude of men, and the number of troops; on the other, the ſuperiority in the art of conducting ſhips, and of ſubduing the ſea in engagements. Here there is impetuoſity and valour; there valour and experience. On one hand, the activity which abſolute monarchy may give to the meaſures; on the other, the vigour and the energy of liberty. One party is ſtimulated by reſentment for loſſes, and by a long-continued ſeries of outrages they have to avenge; the other, by the recollection of a recent glory, and by their having the ſovereignty of America, as well as that of the ocean, to preſerve. The two allied nations have the advantage which is derived from the union of two immenſe pow-

ers; but at the ſame time the inconvenience which BOOK
reſults from this very union, by the difficulty even of XVIII.
preſerving harmony and concord, either in the plans or in the diſpoſal of their forces. England is abandoned to herſelf; but having nothing but her own forces to direct, ſhe hath the advantage of unity in her deſigns; of a more certain, and perhaps more ſpeedy combination of ideas. She can with greater facility regulate at one view her plans of attack and defence.

In order to have an exact idea of things, one ought alſo to examine the different energy which may be communicated to the rival nations by a war, which on one ſide is no more in ſeveral reſpects than a war of kings and miniſters; and on the other, a really national war, in which the greateſt intereſts of England are concerned, a commerce, which conſtitutes her riches; an empire, and a glory, which compoſe her greatneſs.

Finally, if we conſider the ſpirit of the French nation, in contraſt with that of the nation ſhe is at war with, it will be found that the ardour of the French is perhaps equally ready to be excited and to be extinguiſhed; that their hopes are very ſanguine at the beginning, and that they deſpair of every thing as ſoon as they are ſtopped by any obſtacle; that by their character they require the enthuſiaſm of ſucceſs, in order to obtain freſh advantages. The Engliſh, on the contrary, leſs preſumptuous at firſt, notwithſtanding their natural boldneſs, know how to ſtruggle courageouſly, to be elevated in proportion to the increaſe of danger, and to acquire ſteadineſs by diſgrace; like the ſturdy oak, to which Horace compares the Romans, which, though cut by the ax and mutilated by iron, revives under the ſtrokes which it receives, and acquires new vigour even from its wounds.

Hiſtory informs us, moreover, that few leagues have ever divided the ſpoils of the nation againſt which they had been formed. Athens triumphant over Perſia; Rome ſaved from Annibal; in modern times,

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Venice, preſerved from the famous league of Cambray; and even in our days, Pruſſia, which by the genius of one ſingle man hath held out againſt all Europe; all theſe examples authoriſe us to ſuſpend our judgment reſpecting the iſſue of the preſent war.

What ought to be the policy of the houſe of Bourbon, ſhould it be victorious.

But, let us ſuppoſe that the houſe of Bourbon ſhall have obtained all the advantages they may flatter themſelves with, what conduct ought they to purſue?

France is, in every point of view, the empire the moſt ſtrongly conſtituted of any one the remembrance of which is preſerved in the annals of the world. Spain, though not to be compared with her, is likewiſe a ſtate of great weight, and her means of proſperity are increaſing daily. The principal care of the houſe of Bourbon, then, ſhould be, to induce their neighbours to overlook the advantages which they derive from nature or from art, or which they have acquired by events. If they ſhould endeavour to increaſe their ſuperiority, the alarm would become general, and people would think themſelves threatened with univerſal ſlavery. It is perhaps rather extraordinary, that the nations have not thwarted her projects againſt England. This ſupineneſs muſt have been occaſioned by the reſentment which the injuſtice and the haughtineſs of that ſuperb iſland have excited in all parts. But hatred is ſuſpended when intereſt is concerned. It is poſſible, Europe may judge the weakening of Great Britain in the New and in the Old Hemiſphere to be contrary to her own ſecurity; and that, after having enjoyed the ſpectacle of the humiliations and the dangers of that proud and tyrannical power, ſhe may at length take up arms in her defence. Should this happen, the courts of Verſailles and Madrid would find themſelves diſappointed in the hopes which they had conceived, of acquiring a decided preponderance upon the globe. Theſe conſiderations ſhould determine them to urge on the attacks, and not to leave time to a provident, or perhaps only a jealous policy, to make freſh plans. Let

them eſpecially ſtop in time, and let not an immoderate deſire of lowering their common enemy blind them with regard to their true intereſts.

The United States have openly diſcovered the project of drawing all North America into their confederation. Several ſteps, and particularly that of ſoliciting Canada to rebellion, muſt have induced an opinion that it was likewiſe the deſire of France. Spain may be ſuſpected of having equally adopted this idea.

The conduct of the provinces which have ſhaken off the yoke of Great Britain is ſimple, and ſuch as one would expect. But would not their allies be deficient in foreſight, if they had really the ſame ſyſtem? The New Hemiſphere muſt one day be detached from the Old. This great evulſion is prepared in Europe by the ferment and by the claſh of opinions; by the overthrow of our rights, which conſtituted our courage; by the luxury of our courts, and the miſery of our country places; by the everlaſting hatred there is between effeminate men who poſſeſs every thing, and robuſt, and even virtuous men, who have nothing to loſe but their lives. It is prepared in America, by the increaſe of population, of cultures, of induſtry, and of knowledge. Every thing is tending towards this ſeparation, both the progreſs of evil in one world, and the progreſs of good in another.

But can it be ſuitable to France and Spain, whoſe poſſeſſions in the New Hemiſphere are an inexhauſtible ſource of wealth, can it be ſuitable to them to haſten this diviſion? Yet this is what would happen, if the whole northern part of thoſe regions were ſubject to the ſame laws, or connected by one common intereſt.

Scarce would the liberty of this vaſt continent be confirmed, than it would become the aſylum of all the intriguing, ſeditious, branded, or ruined men, who are ſeen amongſt us. Neither agriculture, the arts, nor commerce, would be the reſource of refugees of this character. A leſs laborious and more turbulent life would be neceſſary for them. This turn of mind, equally averſe from labour and reſt, would be diſpoſ-

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ed to conqueſts; and a paſſion which is ſo ſeducing would readily ſubdue the firſt coloniſts, diverted from their ancient labours by a long war. The new people would have finiſhed their preparations for invaſion before the report of them could have reached our climates. They would chooſe their enemies, their field of battle, and the moment of victory. Their attacks would always fall upon defenceleſs ſeas, or upon coaſts taken by ſurpriſe. In a ſhort time the ſouthern provinces would become the prey of the northern ones, and would compenſate, by the richneſs of their productions, for the mediocrity of thoſe of the latter. Perhaps even the poſſeſſions of our abſolute monarchies would endeavour to enter into the confederation of free people, or would detach themſelves from Europe, to belong only to themſelves.

The meaſures which the courts of Madrid and Verſailles ought to purſue, if they are at liberty to chooſe, is to leave ſubſiſting in the northern part of America two powers which ſhall watch over, reſtrain, and balance each other. Then ages will elapſe before England, and the republics formed at her expence will be united. This reciprocal miſtruſt will prevent them from undertaking any thing at a diſtance; and the eſtabliſhment of other nations in the New World will enjoy that ſtate of tranquillity which hitherto hath been ſo much diſturbed.

It is even probable that this order of things would be moſt ſuitable to the confederate provinces. Their reſpective limits have not been regulated. A great jealouſy prevails between the countries of the North and thoſe of the South. Political principles vary from one river to another. Great animoſities are obſerved to ſubſiſt between the citizens of a town and the members of a family. Each of them will be deſirous of removing from themſelves the oppreſſive burden of the public expences and debts. An infinite number of ſeeds of diviſion are univerſally brooding in the heart of the United States. When once all dangers were removed, how would it be poſſible to prevent the

breaking out of ſo many diſcontents? How would it be poſſible to keep attached to the ſame centre ſo many deluded and exaſperated minds? Let the real friends of America reflect upon this, and they will find, that the only way to prevent diſturbances among the people, would be to leave upon their frontiers a powerful rival, always diſpoſed to avail itſelf of their diſſenſions.

Peace and ſecurity are neceſſary for monarchies; agitation and a formidable enemy for republics. Rome ſtood in need of Carthage: and he who deſtroyed the liberty of the Romans was neither Scylla nor Cæſar; it was the firſt Cato, when his narrow and ſtern ſyſtem of politics deprived Rome of a rival, by kindling in the ſenate thoſe flames which reduced Carthage to aſhes. Venice herſelf, perhaps, would have loſt her government and her laws four hundred years ago, if ſhe had not had at her gates, and almoſt under her walls, powerful neighbours, who might become her enemies or her maſters.

What idea muſt be formed of the thirteen confederated provinces

But according to this ſyſtem, to what degree of felicity, ſplendour, and ſtrength, can the confederate provinces attain in proceſs of time?

In this place, to form a proper judgment, let us begin by ſetting aſide that intereſt which all men, ſlaves not excepted, have taken in the generous efforts of a nation, which expoſed itſelf to all calamities in order to be free. The name of liberty is ſo alluring, that all thoſe who fight for it are ſure of obtaining our ſecret wiſhes in their favour. Their cauſe is that of the whole human race, and becomes our own. We avenge ourſelves of our oppreſſors, by venting at leaſt freely our hatred againſt foreign oppreſſors. At the noiſe of theſe chains that are breaking, it ſeems to us that ours are going to become lighter; and for a few moments we think we breathe a purer air, when we learn that the univerſe reckons ſome tyrants leſs. Beſides, theſe great revolutions of liberty are leſſons to deſpots. They warn them not to reckon upon too

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long a continuance of the people's patience, and upon eternal impunity. So, where ſociety and the laws avenge themſelves of the crimes of individuals, the good man hopes that the puniſhment of the guilty may prevent the commiſſion of freſh crimes. Terror ſometimes ſupplies the place of juſtice with regard to the robber, and of conſcience with regard to the aſſaſſin. Such is the ſource of the great concern we take in every war for liberty. Such hath been that with which the Americans have inſpired us. Our imaginations have been heated in their favour. We have taken a part in their victories and their defeats. The ſpirit of juſtice, which delights in compenſating former calamities by future happineſs, is pleaſed with the idea, that this part of the New World cannot fail to become one of the moſt flouriſhing countries on the globe. It is even ſuppoſed that Europe may one day find her maſters in her children. Let us venture to reſiſt the torrent of opinion, and that of public enthuſiaſm. Let us not ſuffer ourſelves to be miſled by imagination, which embelliſhes every thing, and by ſentiment, which delights in forming illuſions, and which realizes every hope. It is our duty to combat all prejudices, even thoſe which are moſt conſonant to the wiſhes of our hearts. Above all things, it behoves us to be true, and not to betray that pure and upright conſcience which preſides over our writings, and dictates our judgments. At this moment, perhaps, we ſhall not be believed; but a bold conjecture, which is confirmed at the end of ſeveral centuries, does more honour to the hiſtorian, than a long ſeries of facts, the truth of which cannot be conteſted: and I do not write for my cotemporaries alone, who will only ſurvive me a ſmall number of years. When a few more revolutions of the ſun are paſſed, both they and I ſhall be no more. But I deliver up my ideas to poſterity and to time. It is theirs to judge me.

The ſpace occupied by the thirteen republics, between the mountains and the ſea, is no more than

ſixty-ſeven ſea leagues; but their extent upon the coaſt, in a direct line, is three hundred and forty-five, from the river of Sancta Crux to that of Savannah.

The lands in that region are almoſt generally bad, or at leaſt indifferent.

Scarce any thing but maize grows in the four moſt northern colonies. The only reſource of the inhabitants is fiſhing, the annual produce of which doth not amount to more than 6,000,000 of livres [250,000l.].

Corn is the principal ſupport of the provinces of New York, the Jerſeys, and Pennſylvania. But the ſoil hath degenerated ſo rapidly, that an acre, which formerly yielded ſixty buſhels of wheat, very ſeldom produces even twenty at preſent.

Though the lands of Maryland and of Virginia be much ſuperior to all the reſt, yet they cannot be deemed extremely fertile. The ancient plantations yield no more than one-third of the tobacco which was formerly gathered. It is not poſſible to make any new ones; and the planters have been reduced to the neceſſity of turning their labours towards other objects.

North Carolina produces ſome grain, but of ſo inferior a quality, as to be ſold in all markets twenty-five or thirty per cent. cheaper than the others.

The ſoil of South Carolina and of Georgia is perfectly even, as far as fifty miles from the ocean. The exceſſive rains which fall there not finding any outlet, form numerous moraſſes, where rice is cultivated to the great detriment of the freemen and of the ſlaves employed in this culture. In the intervening ſpaces between theſe large bodies of water ſo frequently met with, an inferior kind of indigo grows, which muſt be tranſplanted every year. In the elevated part of the country nothing is to be found except barren ſands and frightful rocks, interſected at great diſtances by paſture grounds of the nature of ruſhes.

The Engliſh government, convinced that North America would never enrich them by its natural productions, employed the powerful incentive of gratuities, in order to produce in that part of the New

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World flax, vines, and silk. The poorness of the soil disconcerted the first of these views, the defect of the climate prevented the success of the second, and the want of hands did not permit the third to be pursued. The society established in London for the encouragement of arts was not more fortunate than administration. Their benefactions did not bring forth any of the objects which they had proposed to the activity and industry of those countries.

Great Britain was obliged to be contented with selling every year to the countries we are speaking of to the amount of about 50,000,000 livres [2,083,333l. 6s. 8d.] of merchandise. Those by whom they were consumed delivered to her exclusively their indigoes, their iron, their tobacco, and their peltries. They also delivered to her all the money and rough materials which they had received from the rest of the globe in exchange for their grain, their fish, their rice, and their salt provisions.

The balance, however, was always so unfavourable to them, that, at the beginning of the troubles, the colonies were indebted one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and thirty millions of livres [from 5,000,000l. to 5,416,666l. 13s. 4d.] to the mother-country; and they had no specie in circulation.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, there had been successively formed in the midst of the thirteen provinces a population of two millions nine hundred eighty-one thousand six hundred and seventy-eight persons, including four hundred thousand Negroes. New inhabitants were constantly driven there by oppression and intoleration. The unfortunate have been deprived of this refuge by war; but peace will restore it to them again; and they will resort there in greater numbers than ever. Those who shall go there with plans of cultivation, will not have all the satisfaction they may expect, because they will find all the good, and even the indifferent lands occupied, and that scarce any thing remains to offer them, except barren sands, unwholesome morasses, or steep mountains.

The emigrations will be more favourable to manufacturers and to artiſts, though perhaps they will gain nothing by changing their country and their climate.

It cannot be determined without raſhneſs what will one day be the population of the United States. This calculation, generally very difficult, becomes impracticable in a region where the lands degenerate very rapidly, and where reproduction is not in proportion to the labours and expences beſtowed upon them. It will be a conſiderable thing, if ten millions of men can ever find a certain ſubſiſtence in theſe provinces, and even then the exports will be reduced to little or nothing: but internal induſtry will ſupply the place of foreign induſtry. The country will nearly be able to ſupply its own wants, provided the inhabitants know how to be happy by economy and in mediocrity.

People of North America, let the example of all the nations which have preceded you, and eſpecially that of the mother-country, ſerve as a leſſon to you. Dread the influence of gold, which, with luxury, introduces corruption of manners and contempt of the laws. Dread too unequal a repartition of riches, which indicates a ſmall number of wealthy citizens, and a multitude of citizens plunged in miſery; from whence ariſes the inſolence of the former, and the degradation of the latter. Keep yourſelves free from the ſpirit of conqueſt. The tranquillity of an empire diminiſhes in proportion as it extends itſelf. Have arms to defend yourſelves, but not to attack. Search for affluence and health in labour; for proſperity, in the cultivation of the lands, and in the manufactures of induſtry; for ſtrength, in good manners and in virtue. Encourage the proſperity of the arts and ſciences, which diſtinguiſh the civilized man from the ſavage. Attend, above all things, to the education of your children. Be convinced, that from public ſchools come forth enlightened magiſtrates, valiant and well-informed officers, good fathers, good huſbands, good brothers, good friends, and honeſt men. Wherever depravity of manners is obſerved among the youth, the nation is

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upon its decline. Let liberty have a firm and unalterable baſis in the wiſdom of your conſtitutions, and let it be the everlaſting cement which connects your provinces together. Eſtabliſh no legal preference between the modes of divine worſhip. Superſtition is everywhere innocent, where it is neither protected nor perſecuted; and may your duration, if poſſible, be long as that of the world!

May this wiſh be accompliſhed, and conſole the preſent expiring race with the hopes that a better will ſucceed to it! But waving the conſideration of future times, let us take a view of the reſult of three memorable ages. Having ſeen in the beginning of this work the ſtate of miſery and ignorance in which Europe was plunged in the infancy of America, let us examine to what ſtate the conqueſt of the New World hath led and advanced thoſe that made it. This was the deſign of a book undertaken with the hopes of being uſeful; if the end be anſwered, the author will have diſcharged his duty to the age he lives in, and to ſociety.

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WE are advancing in a career, upon which we ſhould not have entered without knowing the extent and the difficulties of it, and which we ſhould ſeveral times have quitted, had we not been ſupported by motives which always make us forget the diſproportion between our powers and the experiment. In the event of a conflagration, we ſometimes attempt and accompliſh things which would depreſs our courage, were it not ſtimulated by the danger, and which aſtoniſh it when the danger is over. After a battle, either won or loſt, a military man ſaid at the ſight of a mountain which he had climbed up in order to reach the enemy: Who would ever have done that, if there had not been a muſket-ſhot to receive? I was certainly animated with the ſame ſentiment when I began this work, and it muſt undoubtedly animate me ſtill ſince I continue.

We have firſt deſcribed the ſtate of Europe before the diſcovery of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

After this we have purſued the uncertain, tyrannical, and ſanguinary progreſs of the ſettlements formed in theſe diſtant regions.

It now remains to unfold the influence which the intercourſe eſtabliſhed with the New World has had upon the opinions, government, induſtry, arts, manners, and happineſs of the Old. Let us begin by religion.

Religion.

Had man uninterruptedly enjoyed complete felicity, had the earth ſatisfied of itſelf all the variety of his wants, it may be preſumed that much time would have elapſed before the ſentiment of admiration and gratitude would have turned towards the Gods, the attention of that being naturally ungrateful. But a barren ſoil did not anſwer to his labours. The torrents ravaged the fields which he had cultivated. A burning ſky deſtroyed his harveſts. He experienced famine; he became acquainted with diſeaſe; and he endeavoured to find out the cauſe of his miſery.

To explain the myſtery of his exiſtence, of his happineſs, and of his misfortune, he invented different ſyſtems equally abſurd. He peopled the univerſe with good and evil ſpirits; and ſuch was the origin of Polytheiſm, the moſt ancient and the moſt univerſal of all religions. From Polytheiſm aroſe Manicheiſm, the veſtiges of which will laſt perpetually, whatever may be the progreſs of reaſon. Manicheiſm ſimplified, engendered Deiſm; and in the midſt of this diverſity of opinions there aroſe a claſs of men mediators between Heaven and earth.

Then the regions of the earth were covered with altars; in one place the hymn of joy reſounded, while in another were heard the complaints of pain; then recourſe was had to prayer and to ſacrifice, the two natural modes of obtaining favour, and of deprecating anger. The harveſt was offered up; the lamb, the goat, and the bull, were ſlain; and the holy ſod was even ſtained with the blood of man.

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In the meanwhile the good man was often ſeen in adverſity, while the wicked, and even the impious man proſpered; and then the doctrine of immortality was ſuggeſted. The ſouls, freed from the body, either circulated among the different beings of nature, or went into another world to receive the reward of their virtues, or the puniſhment of their crimes. But it is a problematical circumſtance, whether man became better on this account. It is certain, however, that from the inſtant of his birth to that of his death, he was tormented with the fear of inviſible powers, and reduced to a much more wretched ſtate than that which he had before enjoyed.

Moſt legiſlators have availed themſelves of this propenſity of the mind, to govern the people, and ſtill more to enſlave them. Some have aſſerted, that they held from Heaven the right of commanding; and thus was theocracy or ſacred deſpotiſm eſtabliſhed, the moſt cruel and the moſt immoral of all legiſlations; that in which man, proud, malevolent, intereſted and vicious with impunity, commands man from God; that in which there is nothing juſt or unjuſt, but what is either agreeable or diſpleaſing to him, or that Supreme Being with whom he communicates, and whom he cauſes to ſpeak according to his paſſions, in which it is a crime to examine his orders, and impiety to oppoſe them; in which contradictory revelations are ſubſtituted to reaſon and conſcience, which are reduced to ſilence by prodigies or by enormous crimes; in which the nations, in a word, cannot have any ideas concerning the rights of man, reſpecting what is good and what is evil, becauſe they ſearch for the foundation of their privileges and of their duties, only in ſacred writings, the interpretation of which is denied to them.

If this kind of government had a more ſublime origin in Paleſtine, ſtill it was not more exempt than anywhere elſe from the calamities which neceſſarily ariſe from it.

Chriſtianity ſucceeded the Jewiſh inſtitution. The ſubjection that Rome, miſtreſs of the world, was under

to the moſt ſavage tyrants; the dreadful miſeries, which the luxury of a court and the maintenance of armies had occaſioned throughout this vaſt empire under the reigns of the Neros; the ſucceſſive irruptions of the barbarians, who diſmembered this great body; the loſs of provinces, either by revolt or invaſion; all theſe natural evils had already prepared the minds of men for a new religion, and the changes in politics muſt neceſſarily have induced an innovation in the form of worſhip. In Paganiſm, which had exiſted for ſo many ages, there remained only the fables to which it owed its origin, the folly or the vices of its gods, the avarice of its prieſts, and the infamy and licentious conduct of the kings who ſupported them. Then the people, deſpairing to obtain relief from their tyrants upon earth, had recourſe to Heaven for protection.

Chriſtianity appeared, and afforded them comfort, at the ſame time that it taught them to ſuffer with patience. While the tyranny and licentiouſneſs of princes tended to the deſtruction of paganiſm as well as to that of the empire, the ſubjects, who had been oppreſſed and ſpoiled, and who had embraced the new doctrines, were completing its ruin by the examples they gave of thoſe virtues, which always accompany the zeal of new-made proſelytes. But a religion that aroſe in the midſt of public calamity muſt neceſſarily give its preachers a conſiderable influence over the unhappy perſons who took refuge in it. Thus the power of the clergy commenced, as it were, with the goſpel.

From the remains of Pagan ſuperſtitions and philoſophic ſects, a code of rites and tenets was formed, which the ſimplicity of the primitive Chriſtians ſanctified with real and affecting piety; but which at the ſame time left the ſeeds of debates and controverſies, from whence aroſe a variety of paſſions diſguiſed under, and dignified with, the name of zeal. Theſe diſſenſions produced ſchools, doctors, a tribunal, and a hierarchy. Chriſtianity had begun to be preached by a ſet of fiſhermen, deſtitute of every knowledge but that of the goſpel; it was entirely eſtabliſhed by bi-

BOOK XIX. ſhops who formed the church. After this it gained ground by degrees, till at length it attracted the notice of the emperors. Some of theſe tolerated Chriſtianity, either from motives of contempt or humanity; others perſecuted it. Perſecution haſtened its progreſs, for which toleration had paved the way. Connivance and proſcription, clemency and rigour, were all equally advantageous to it. The ſenſe of freedom, ſo natural to the human mind, induced many perſons to embrace it in its infancy, as it has made others reject it ſince it has been eſtabliſhed. This ſpirit of independence, rather adapted to truth than to novelty, would neceſſarily have induced a multitude of perſons of all ranks to become converts to Chriſtianity, if even the characters it bore had not been calculated to inſpire veneration and reſpect.

Paganiſm, unmasked by philoſophy, and brought into diſcredit by the fathers of the church, with a ſufficient number of temples, but with prieſts who were not rich, ſank from day to day, and gave way to the new form of worſhip. This penetrated into the hearts of the women by devotion, which is ſo naturally allied to tenderneſs, and into the minds of children, who are fond of prodigies, and even of the moſt rigid morality. Thus it was introduced into courts, where every thing which can become a paſſion is certain of finding acceſs. A prince, who bathed in the blood of his family, had, as it were, fallen aſleep in the arms of impunity; a prince, who had great crimes and great weakneſſes to expiate, embraced Chriſtianity, which forgave him every thing on account of his zeal, and to which he gave up every thing, in order to be freed from his remorſe.

Conſtantine, inſtead of uniting the prieſthood to the crown, when he was converted to Chriſtianity, as they had been united in the perſons of the Pagan emperors, granted to the clergy ſuch a ſhare of wealth and authority, and afforded them ſo many means of future aggrandizement, that theſe blind conceſſions produced an eccleſiaſtical deſpotiſm entirely new.

Profound ignorance was the moſt certain ſupport of this aſcendency over the minds of men. The pontiffs of Rome diffuſed this ignorance, by oppoſing every kind of Pagan erudition. If from time to time ſome efforts were made to diſpel this obſcurity, they were extinguiſhed by capital puniſhments.

While the popes were undeceiving the minds of men reſpecting their authority, even by the abuſe they made of it, knowledge was paſſing on from the Eaſt to the Weſt. As ſoon as the maſter-pieces of antiquity had revived the taſte for uſeful ſtudy, reaſon recovered ſome of the rights which it had loſt. The hiſtory of the church was inveſtigated, and the falſe pretenſions of the court of Rome were diſcovered. Part of Europe ſhook of the yoke. A monk ſet almoſt all Germany, and almoſt the whole North, free from it; a prieſt, ſome provinces of France; and a king, all England, for the ſake of a woman. If other ſovereigns firmly maintained the Catholic religion throughout their poſſeſſions, it was, perhaps, becauſe it was more favourable to that blind and paſſive obedience which they require from their people, and which the popiſh clergy have always preached for their own intereſts.

In the meanwhile, the deſire, on one hand, of preſerving the pontifical authority, and the wiſh of deſtroying it on the other, have produced two oppoſite ſyſtems. The Catholic divines have undertaken, and even ſucceſsfully, to prove that the holy books are not of themſelves the touchſtone of orthodoxy. They have demonſtrated, that, ſince the firſt preaching of the goſpel to our times, the ſcriptures, differently underſtood, had given riſe to the moſt oppoſite, the moſt extravagant, and the moſt impious opinions; and that with this divine word, the moſt contradictory tenets may have been maintained, as long as inward ſentiment hath been the only interpreter of the revelation.

The writers of the reformed religion have ſhown the abſurdity of believing, that one man alone was conſtantly inſpired from Heaven, upon a throne, or in

BOOK XIX. a chair, in which the moſt monſtrous vices have been committed; where diſſolution was ſeated by the ſide of inſpiration; where adultery and concubinage profaned the idols who were inveſted with the character and with the name of ſanctity; where the ſpirit of falſehood and of artifice dictated the pretended oracles of truth. They have demonſtrated, that the church, aſſembled in council, and compoſed of intriguing prelates, under the emperors of the primitive church, of ignorant and debauched ones, in the times of barbariſm and of ambition, and of oſtentatious ones in the ages of ſchiſm; that ſuch a church could not be more enlightened by ſupernatural inſpiration than the vicar of Jeſus himſelf; that the Spirit of God did not more viſibly communicate itſelf to two hundred fathers of the council, than to the holy father himſelf, who was often the moſt profligate of men; that Germans and Spaniards without learning, French without morals, and Italians without any virtue, were not ſo well qualified for the ſpirit of revelation, as a ſimple flock of peaſants, who ſincerely ſeek after God by prayer and by labour. In a word, if they have not been able to ſupport their new ſyſtem in the eyes of reaſon, they have at leaſt entirely deſtroyed that of the ancient church.

In the midſt of theſe ruins, philoſophy hath ariſen, and ſaid: If the text of the ſcripture be not ſufficiently clear, preciſe, and authentic, to be the ſole and infallible rule of doctrine and of worſhip; if the tradition of the church, from its firſt inſtitution to the times of Luther and Calvin, hath been corrupted with the manners of prieſts, and of its followers; if the councils have doubted, varied, and decided contradictorily in their aſſemblies; if it be unworthy of the Divinity to communicate its ſpirit and its word to one ſingle man, debauched in his youth, reduced to imbecillity in his old age, ſubject, in a word, to the paſſions, the errors, and the infirmities of man: then, ſay they, there is no firm and ſtable ſupport for the infallibility of the Chriſ-

tian faith; conſequently, that religion is not of divine inſtitution, and God hath not intended that it ſhould be eternal. BOOK XIX.

This dilemma is very embarraſſing. As long as the ſenſe of the ſcriptures ſhall remain open to the conteſts it hath ever experienced, and that tradition ſhall be as problematical as it hath appeared to be, from the immenſe labours of the clergy of different communions, Chriſtianity can have no ſupport but from the civil authority, and the power of the magiſtrate. The proper force of religion, which ſubdues the mind, and reſtrains the conſcience by conviction, will be wanting to it.

Accordingly, theſe diſputes have gradually led the nations which had ſhaken off the yoke of an authority, conſidered till then as infallible, farther than it had been foreſeen. They have almoſt generally rejected, from the ancient mode of worſhip, what was contrary to their reaſon, and have only preſerved a Chriſtianity diſengaged from all myſteries. Revelation itſelf hath been abandoned in theſe regions, though at a later period, by ſome men more bold, or who thought themſelves more enlightened than the multitude. A manner of thinking, ſo proud and independent, hath extended itſelf, in proceſs of time, to thoſe ſtates which had remained ſubject to Rome. As in theſe countries knowledge had made leſs progreſs, and opinions had been more confined, licentiouſneſs in them hath been carried to its utmoſt extent. Atheiſm, the ſyſtem either of a diſcontented and gloomy ſpirit, which ſees nothing but confuſion in nature, or of a wicked man who dreads future vengeance, or of a ſet of philoſophers neither gloomy nor wicked, who vainly imagine they find in the properties of eternal matter a ſufficient cauſe for all the phenomena which excite our admiration.

By an impulſe founded on the nature of religions themſelves, Catholiciſm tends inceſſantly to Proteſtantiſm, Proteſtantiſm to Socinianiſm, Socinianiſm to Deiſm, and Deiſm to Scepticiſm. Incredulity is become too general, to allow us to hope, with any de-

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gree of foundation, that the ancient tenets can regain the aſcendant which they enjoyed during ſo many centuries. Let them be always freely followed, by ſuch of their ſectators who are attached to them from conſcience, by all thoſe who find matter of conſolation in them, and by all whom they incite to perform the duties of a citizen: but let all ſects, the principles of which are not contrary to public order, find in general the ſame indulgence. It would be conſiſtent with the dignity, as well as with the wiſdom of all governments, to have the ſame moral code of religion, from which it ſhould not be allowed to deviate, and to give the reſt up to diſcuſſions, in which the tranquillity of the world was not concerned. This would be the ſureſt way of extinguiſhing, inſenſibly, the fanaticiſm of the clergy and the enthuſiaſm of the people.

It is partly to the diſcovery of the New World that we ſhall owe that religious toleration which ought to be, and certainly will be, introduced in the Old. Perſecution would only haſten the downfal of the religions that are now eſtabliſhed. Induſtry and the means of information have now prevailed among the nations, and gained an influence that muſt reſtore a certain equilibrium in the moral and civil order of ſociety: the human mind is undeceived with regard to its former ſuperſtitions. If we do not avail ourſelves of the preſent time to re-eſtabliſh the empire of reaſon, it muſt neceſſarily be given up to new ſuperſtitions.

Every thing has concurred, for theſe two laſt centuries, to extinguiſh that furious zeal which ravaged the globe. The depredations of the Spaniards throughout America have ſhown the world to what exceſs fanaticiſm may be carried. In eſtabliſhing their religion by fire and ſword through exhauſted and depopulated countries, they have rendered it odious in Europe; and their cruelties have contributed to ſeparate a greater number of Catholics from the church of Rome, than they have gained converts to Chriſtianity among the Indians. The concourſe of perſons

of all ſects in North America has neceſſarily diffuſed the ſpirit of toleration into diſtant countries, and put a ſtop to religious wars in our climates. The ſending of miſſionaries has delivered us from thoſe turbulent men, who might have inflamed our country, and who are gone to carry the firebrands and ſwords of the goſpel beyond the ſeas. Navigation and long voyages have inſenſibly detached a great number of the people from the abſurd ideas which ſuperſtition inſpires. The variety of religious worſhips, and the difference of nations, has accuſtomed the moſt vulgar minds to a ſort of indifference for the object that had the greateſt influence over their imaginations. Trade carried on between perſons of the moſt oppoſite ſects, has leſſened that religious hatred which was the cauſe of their diviſions. It has been found that morality and integrity were not inconſiſtent with any opinions whatever, and that irregularity of manners and avarice were equally prevalent everywhere; and hence it has been concluded that the manners of men have been regulated by the difference of climate and of government, and by ſocial and national intereſt.

Since an intercourſe has been eſtabliſhed between the two hemiſpheres of this world, our thoughts have been leſs engaged about that other world, which was the hope of the few and the torment of the many. The diverſity and multiplicity of objects induſtry hath preſented to the mind and to the ſenſes, have divided the attachments of men, and weakened the force of every ſentiment. The characters of men have been ſoftened, and the ſpirit of fanaticiſm, as well as that of chivalry, muſt neceſſarily have been extinguiſhed, together with all thoſe ſtriking extravagancies which have prevailed among people who were indolent and averſe from labour. The ſame cauſes that have produced this revolution in the manners, have yet had a more ſudden influence on the nature of government.

Government.

Society naturally reſults from population, and government is a part of the ſocial ſtate. From conſidering the few wants men have, in proportion to the

BOOK XIX. resources nature affords them, the little assistance and happiness they find in a civilized state, in comparison of the pains and evils they are exposed to in it; their desire of independence and liberty, common to them with all other living beings; together with various other reasons deduced from the constitutions of human nature; from considering all these circumstances, it has been doubted whether the social state was so natural to mankind as it has generally been thought.

Insulated men have generally been compared to separate springs. If in the state of nature, without legislation, without government, without chiefs, without magistrates, without tribunals, and without laws, one of these springs should clash with another, either the latter broke the former, or was broken by it, or they were both of them broken. But when, by collecting and arranging these springs, one of those enormous machines, called societies, had been formed, in which, being stretched one against the other, they act and re-act with all the violence of their particular energy, a real state of war was artificially created, and that of war diversified by an innumerable multitude of interests and opinions. The confusion was still infinitely greater, when two, three, four, or five of these terrible machines came to shock each other at the same time. It was then, that in the space of a few hours, more springs were broken and destroyed, than would have been in the course of twenty centuries, either before or without this sublime institution. Thus it is that the first founders of nations are satirized, under the supposition of an ideal and chimerical savage state. Men were never insulated in the manner here described. They bore within themselves a germen of sociability, which was incessantly tending to unfold itself. Had they been inclined to separate, they could not have done it; and supposing they could, they ought not; the defects of their association being compensated by greater advantages.

The weakness and long continuance of the infant state of man; the nakedness of his body, which has

no natural covering like that of other animals; the tendency of his mind to perfection, the neceſſary conſequence of the length of his life; the fondneſs of a mother for her child, which is increaſed by cares and fatigues, who, after ſhe has carried it in the womb for nine months, ſuckles and beafs it in her arms for whole years; the reciprocal attachment ariſing from this habitual connection between two beings who relieve and careſs each other; the numerous ſigns of intercourſe in an organization, which, beſide the accents of the voice, common to ſo many animals, adds alſo the language of the fingers, and of geſtures peculiar to the human race; natural events, which in a hundred different ways may bring together, or re-unite wandering and free individuals; accidents and unforeſeen wants, which oblige them to meet for the purpoſes of hunting, fiſhing, or even of defence; in a word, the example of ſo many creatures that live collected together in great numbers, ſuch as amphibious animals and ſea monſters, flights of cranes and other birds, even inſects that are found in columns and ſwarms: all theſe facts and reaſons ſeem to prove, that men are by nature formed for ſociety, and that they are the ſooner diſpoſed to enter into it, becauſe they cannot multiply greatly under the torrid zone, unleſs they be collected into wandering or ſedentary tribes; nor can they diffuſe themſelves much under the other zones, without aſſociating with their fellow-creatures, for the prey and the ſpoils which the neceſſities of food and clothing require.

From the neceſſity of aſſociation, ariſes that of eſtabliſhing laws relative to the ſocial ſtate; that is to ſay, of forming, by a combination of all common and particular inſtincts, one general plan, that ſhall maintain the collective body, and the majority of individuals. For if nature direct man to his fellow-creature, it is undoubtedly by a conſequence of that univerſal attraction which tends to the preſervation and reproduction of the ſpecies. All the propenſities which man brings with him into ſociety, and all the impreſſions

BOOK XIX. he receives in it, ought to be ſubordinate to this firſt impulſe. To live and to propagate being the deſtination of every living ſpecies, it ſhould ſeem that ſociety, if it be one of the firſt principles of man, ſhould concur in aſſiſting this double end of nature; and that inſtinct which leads him to the ſocial ſtate ſhould neceſſarily direct all moral and political laws, ſo as that they ſhould be more durable, and contribute more to the happineſs of the majority of mankind. If, however, we conſider merely the effect, we ſhould think that the principal or ſupreme law of all ſociety has been, *to ſupport the ruling power*. Whence can ariſe this ſingular contraſt between the end and the means; between the laws of nature and thoſe of politics?

This is a queſtion to which it is difficult to give a proper anſwer, without forming to one's ſelf juſt notions of nature, and of the ſucceſſion of the ſeveral governments; and hiſtory ſcarce affords us any aſſiſtance reſpecting this great object. All the foundations of the ſociety at preſent are loſt in the ruins of ſome cataſtrophe, ſome natural revolution. In all parts we ſee men driven away by ſubterraneous fires or by war, by inundations or by devouring inſects, by want or famine; and joining again in ſome uninhabited corner of the world, or diſperſing and ſpreading themſelves over places already peopled. Police always ariſes from plunder, and order from anarchy; but in order to obtain ſome concluſion which ſhall be ſatisfactory to reaſon, theſe momentary ſhocks muſt not be attended to, and nations muſt be conſidered in a ſtationary and tranquil ſtate, in which the ſingularities of government may appear without controul.

It hath been ſaid that there are two worlds, the natural and the moral. The more extenſive the mind ſhall become, and the more experience it ſhall acquire, the more ſhall we be convinced that there is but one, viz. the natural world, which leads every thing, when it is not oppoſed by fortuitous cauſes, without which we ſhould conſtantly have obſerved the ſame concatenation in thoſe moral events which ſtrike us with moſt

aſtoniſhment, ſuch as the origin of religious ideas, the progreſs of the human mind, the diſcovery of truths, the ſource and the ſucceſſion of errors, the beginning and the end of prejudices, the formation of ſocieties, and the periodical order of the ſeveral governments.

All civilized people have been ſavages; and all ſavages, left to their natural impulſe, were deſtined to become civilized. A family was the firſt ſociety, and the firſt government was the patriarchal, founded upon attachment, obedience, and reſpect. The family is extended and divided; oppoſite intereſts excite wars between brothers, who diſavow each other. One people takes up arms againſt another. The vanquiſhed become the ſlaves of the conquerors, who ſhare among themſelves their plains, their children, and their wives. The country is governed by a chief, by his lieutenants, and by his ſoldiers, who repreſent the free part of the nation, while all the reſt is ſubjected to the atrociouſneſs and to the humiliations of ſervitude. In this ſtate of anarchy, blinded with jealouſy and ferociouſneſs, peace is ſoon diſturbed. Theſe reſtleſs men march againſt and exterminate each other. In proceſs of time there remains only a monarch, or a deſpot under the monarch. There is a ſhadow of juſtice; legiſlation makes ſome progreſs; ideas of property are unfolded; and the name of ſlave is changed into that of ſubject. Under the ſupreme will of a deſpot, nothing prevails but terror, meanneſs, flattery, ſtupidity, and ſuperſtition. This intolerable ſituation ceaſes, either by the aſſaſſination of the tyrant, or by the diſſolution of the empire; and democracy is raiſed upon its ruins. It is then, for the firſt time, that the ſacred name of one's country is heard. It is then that man, bent down to earth, raiſes his head, and appears in his dignity. Then the annals of the nation are filled with heroic deeds. Then there are fathers, mothers, children, friends, fellow-citizens, public and domeſtic virtues. Then the empire of the laws is eſtabliſhed, ſoars to its extremeſt

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height, the ſciences ariſe, and uſeful labours are no longer dergaded.

Unfortunately, this ſtate of happineſs is only temporary. In all parts, revolutions in government ſucceed each other with a rapidity ſcarce to be followed. There are few countries which have not experienced them all; and there is not any one which, in proceſs of time, will not fulfil this periodical motion. They will all, more or leſs frequently, follow a regular circle of misfortunes and proſperities, of liberty and ſlavery, of morals and corruption, of knowledge and ignorance, of ſplendour and weakneſs; they will all go through the ſeveral points of this fatal horizon. The law of nature, which requires that all ſocieties ſhould gravitate towards deſpotiſm and diſſolution, that empires ſhould ariſe and be annihilated, will not be ſuſpended for any one of them. While, like the needle which indicates the conſtant direction of the winds, they are either advancing or going back, let us ſee by what means Europe is arrived to that ſtate of civilization in which it now exiſts.

Waving any further account of the Jewiſh government, unleſs juſt to obſerve, that this ſingular nation hath maintained its character, under all the viciſſitudes of its deſtiny; that the Jews, conquered, ſubdued, diſperſed, hated, and deſpiſed, have ſtill remained attached to their nation; that they have carried their annals, and their country with them, into all climates; that whatever region they inhabit, they live in expectation of a deliverer, and die with their looks fixed upon their ancient temple; let us paſs on to the ſtates of Greece.

Theſe were founded by robbers, who deſtroyed a few monſters, and a great number of men, in order to become kings. It was there, that during a ſhort ſpace of time, at leaſt if we date from the heroic ages, and in a narrow circuit, we have a review of all the ſpecies of governments, of ariſtocracy, of democracy, of monarchy, of deſpotiſm, and of anarchy, which was only ſuſpended, without being extinguiſhed, by the ap-

proach of the common enemy. There it was that the imminent danger of ſlavery gave birth and ſtability to patriotiſm, which leads in its train the origin of all great talents; ſublime inſtance of all vices, and of all virtues; an infinite number of ſchools of wiſdom, in the midſt of debauchery; and ſome models in the fine arts, which in all ages art will always imitate, but will never equal. The Greeks were a frivolous, pleaſant, lying, and ungrateful people; they were the only original people that have exiſted, or perhaps will ever exiſt, upon the face of the earth.

Rome, it is ſaid, was founded by people who eſcaped from the flames of Troy, or was only a retreat for ſome banditti from Greece and Italy: but from this ſcum of the human race aroſe a nation of heroes, the ſcourge of all nations, the devourers of themſelves; a people more aſtoniſhing than admirable, great by their qualities, and worthy of execration by the uſe they made of them in the times of the republic; the baſeſt and moſt corrupt people under their emperors; a people, of whom one of the moſt virtuous men of his age uſed to ſay: If the kings be ferocious animals, who devour nations, what kind of beaſt muſt the Roman people be, who devour kings?

War, which, from all the great nations of Europe together, had formed only the Roman empire, made theſe very Romans, who were ſo numerous, become barbarians again. As the diſpoſitions and manners of the conquering people are generally impreſſed upon the conquered, thoſe who had been enlightened with the knowledge of Rome at the period when it was diſtinguiſhed by its learning, now ſank again into the darkneſs of ſtupid and ferocious Scythians. During ages of ignorance, when ſuperior ſtrength always gave the law, and chance or hunger had compelled the people of the north to invade the ſouthern countries, the continual ebb and flow of emigrations prevented laws from being ſettled in any place. As ſoon as a multitude of ſmall nations had deſtroyed a large one, many chiefs or tyrants divided each vaſt monarchy into ſeve-

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ral fiefs. The people, who gained no advantage by the government of one, or of ſeveral men, were always oppreſſed and trampled upon from theſe diſmemberings of the feudal anarchy. Petty wars were continually kept up between neighbouring towns, inſtead of thoſe great wars that now prevail between nations.

In the meanwhile, a continual ferment led the nations to eſtabliſh themſelves into ſome regular and conſiſtent form of government. Kings were deſirous of raiſing themſelves upon the ruins of thoſe individuals, or of thoſe powerful bodies of men, by whom the commotions were kept up; and to effect this, they had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the people. They were civilized, poliſhed, and more rational laws were given them.

Slavery had oppreſſed their natural vigour, property reſtored it, and commerce, which prevailed after the diſcovery of the New World, increaſed all their powers, by exciting univerſal emulation.

Theſe changes were attended with a revolution of another kind. The monarchs had not been capable of aggrandizing their power without diminiſhing that of the clergy, without favouring religious opinions, or endeavouring to bring them into diſcredit. Innovators, who ventured to attack the church, were ſupported by the throne. From that time, the human underſtanding was ſtrengthened by exerting itſelf againſt the phantoms of imagination, and recovering the path of nature and of reaſon, diſcovered the true principles of government. Luther and Columbus appeared; the whole univerſe trembled; and all Europe was in commotion: but this ſtorm left its horizon clear for ages to come. The former awakened the underſtandings of men, the latter excited their activity. Since they have laid open all the avenues of induſtry and freedom, moſt of the European nations have attended with ſome ſucceſs to the correction or improvement of legiſlation, upon which the felicity of mankind entirely depends. But this ſpirit of information hath not yet reached the Turks.

The Turks were not known in Aſia till the beginning of the thirteenth century; at which time the Tartars, of whom they were a tribe, made frequent excurſions upon the territories of the eaſtern empire, as the Goths had formerly done in the weſtern provinces. It was in 1300 that Ottoman was declared ſultan by his nation, who, living till then upon plunder, or ſelling their ſervice to ſome Aſiatic prince, had not yet thought of forming an independent empire. Ottoman became the chief among theſe barbarians, as a ſavage diſtinguiſhed by his bravery becomes a chief among his equals; for the Turks at that time were only a horde fixed in the neighbourhood of a people who were half civilized. BOOK XIX.

Under this prince and his ſucceſſors, the Ottoman power was daily making freſh progreſs; nothing reſiſted it. Princes brought up in the midſt of camps, and born captains, armies accuſtomed to victory by continual wars, and better diſciplined than thoſe of the Chriſtians, repaired the defects of a bad government.

Conſtantinople, taken by Mohammed in 1453, became the capital of their empire; and the princes of Europe, plunged in ignorance and barbariſm, could only have oppoſed an ineffectual dyke to this overflowing torrent, if the firſt ſucceſſors of Mohammed, at the head of a nation which ſtill preſerved the manners, the genius, and the diſcipline of its founders, had not been obliged to interrupt their expeditions in Poland, in Hungary, or upon the domains of the republic of Venice, in order to go ſometimes into Aſia, ſometimes into Africa, either againſt rebellious ſubjects or turbulent neighbours. Their fortune began to fall off as ſoon as their forces were divided. Succeſſes leſs rapid and leſs brilliant occaſioned their armies to loſe that confidence which was the ſoul of their exploits. The reſt of the empire, cruſhed under the moſt rigorous deſpotiſm, had not attained to any degree of ſplendour. It had acquired no real ſtrength from conqueſts, becauſe it had not known how to take advan-

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tage of them by prudent regulations. Deſtroying in order to preſerve, the conquerors had acquired nothing. They reigned only over provinces laid waſte, and over the wrecks of the powers whom they had ruined.

While a deceitful proſperity was preparing the fall of the Ottoman empire, a contrary revolution was taking place in Chriſtendom. The minds of men were beginning to be enlightened. Principles leſs extravagant were introducing themſelves into Poland. Feudal government, the fertile ſource of ſo many calamities, and which had laſted for ſo long a time, gave way in ſeveral ſtates to a more regular form of government. In other ſtates it was gradually altered, either by laws or by new cuſtoms, with which ſome fortunate circumſtances obliged it to comply. At length a power was formed in the neighbourhood of the Turks capable of reſiſting them: I mean the acceſſion of Ferdinand to the throne of Hungary. This prince, maſter of the poſſeſſions of the Houſe of Auſtria in Germany, was beſides certain, from his Imperial crown, of powerful ſuccours againſt the common enemy.

A military government tends to deſpotiſm; and reciprocally in every deſpotic government, the military man diſpoſes ſooner or later of the ſovereign authority. The prince, freed from all kind of law which might reſtrain his power, doth not fail of abuſing it, and ſoon commands over none but ſlaves, who take no kind of concern about his fate. He who oppreſſes finds no defender, becauſe he deſerves none. His grandeur is without foundation. His own fears are awakened from the ſame motives by which he hath excited terror in others. The uſe he makes of the militia againſt his ſubjects, teaches this very militia what they can do againſt himſelf. They try their ſtrength, they mutiny, and they revolt. The want of power in the prince makes them inſolent. They acquire a ſpirit of ſedition, and it is then that they decide of the fate of their maſter and of his miniſters.

Soliman, informed by the internal commotions which

had agitated the empire under the reigns of Bajazet II. and Selim II. of the dangers which threatened himſelf and his ſucceſſors, thought that he could adopt no better expedient than to enact a law which deprived the princes of his houſe both of the command of the armies and of the government of the provinces. It was by burying in the obſcure idleneſs of a ſeraglio thoſe to whom their birth gave any pretenſions to the empire, that he flattered himſelf he ſhould remove from the Janizaries every pretence of ſedition; but he was deceived. This bad policy ſerved only to increaſe the miſchief of an evil that was perhaps ſtill greater. His ſucceſſors, corrupted by an effeminate education, bore without authority the ſword which had founded and had extended the empire. Ignorant princes, who had frequented none but women, and converſed with none but eunuchs, were inveſted with an unlimited authority, the moſt unparalleled of one of which completed the hatred and miſery of their ſubjects, and plunged them in an abſolute dependence on the Janizaries, become more avaricious and more untractable than ever. If ſometimes, by chance, a ſovereign was raiſed to the throne, who was worthy of occupying it, he was driven from it by miniſters, enemies of a maſter who was able to reſtrain and examine their power, and penetrate into their conduct. BOOK XIX.

Though the Grand Seignior poſſeſſes vaſt domains, though the ſituation of his empire ought to intereſt him in the diſputes of the Chriſtian princes, he hath ſcarce any influence in the general ſyſtem of Europe. This is the effect of the ignorance prevailing among the miniſtry of the Porte, of their prejudices, of the unvariableneſs of their principles, of the other vices which flow from deſpotiſm, and which will perpetuate their bad policy; for tyrants dread nothing ſo much as novelty. They imagine that all is right; and in fact nothing advances more rapidly towards perfection than deſpotiſm. The beſt princes leave always a great deal of good to be done by their ſucceſſors,

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while the firſt deſpot ſcarce ever leaves any evil for a ſecond to do. Beſides, how ſhould a Grand Seignior, ſunk in the voluptuouſneſs of a ſeraglio, ſuſpect that the adminiſtration of his dominions is deteſtable? How is it poſſible he ſhould not admire the wonderful exactneſs of the ſprings, the prodigious harmony of the principles, and of the means which all concur to produce that ſingle and ſuper-excellent end, his moſt unlimited power, and the moſt profound ſervitude of his ſubjects? None of them are warned by the fate of ſo many of their predeceſſors, who have been either ſtabbed or ſtrangled.

The ſultans have never changed their principles. The ſcimitar, at Conſtantinople, is ſtill the interpreter of the Coran. Though the Grand Seignior may not be ſeen coming in and going out of the ſeraglio, like the tyrant of Morocco, with a bloody head in his hand, yet a numerous cohort of ſatellites is engaged to execute theſe horrid murders. The people ſometimes maſſacred by their order, at other times aſſaſſinate the executioner in their turn; but, ſatisfied with this temporary vengeance, they think not of providing for their future ſafety, or for the happineſs of their poſterity. Eaſtern nations will not be at the trouble of guarding the public ſafety by laws, which it is a laborious taſk to form, to ſettle, and to preſerve. If their tyrants carry their oppreſſions or cruelties too far, the head of the vizir is demanded, that of the deſpot is ſtricken off, and thus public tranquillity is reſtored. This remonſtrance, which ſhould be the privilege of the whole nation, is only that of the Janizaries. Even the moſt powerful men in the kingdom have not the leaſt idea of the right of nations. As perſonal ſafety in Turkey belongs only to people of a mean and abject condition, the chief families pride themſelves in the very danger they are expoſed to from the government. A Baſhaw will tell you, that a man of his rank is not deſtined, like an obſcure perſon, to finiſh his days quietly in his bed. One may frequently ſee widows,

whoſe huſbands have been juſt ſtrangled, exulting that they have been deſtroyed in a manner ſuitable to their rank.

It is to this pitch of extravagance that men are led, when tyranny is conſecrated by religious ideas, which ſoone[illegible] it muſt be. When men ceaſe to take pride [illegible] chains in the eyes of the deity, they look upo[illegible]m with contempt, and ſoon proceed to break them. If the apotheoſis of the tyrants of Rome had not been a farce, Tiberius would not have been ſtifled, nor would the murders committed by Nero have been avenged. Oppreſſion, authoriſed by Heaven, inſpires ſuch a contempt for life, that it induces the ſlave to take pride even in his abject ſtate. He is vain of being become in the eyes of his maſter a being of ſufficient importance, that he ſhould not diſdain to put him to death. What difference is there between man and man? A Roman will kill himſelf for fear of owing his life to his equal; and the Muſſulman will glory in the ſentence of death pronounced againſt him by his maſter. Imagination, which can meaſure the diſtance of the earth from the firmament, cannot comprehend this. But what is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that the aſſaſſination of a deſpot, ſo profoundly revered, far from exciting horror, doth not make the leaſt impreſſion. The man who would have joyfully offered him his own head a few minutes before, beholds without emotion his maſter's ſtricken off by the ſcimitar. His indifference ſeems to ſay, that, whether the tyrant be dead or alive, he cannot fail of the honour of being ſtrangled under his ſucceſſor.

The Ruſſians and the Danes do not entertain the ſame prejudices, though ſubject to a power equally arbitrary; becauſe theſe two nations have the advantage of a more tolerable adminiſtration, and of ſome written laws. They can venture to think, or even to ſay, that their government is limited; but have never been able to perſuade any enlightened man of the truth of their aſſertion. While the ſovereign makes and annuls the laws, extends or reſtrains them, and permits or ſuſpends

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the execution of them at pleaſure; while his paſſions are the only rule of his conduct; while he is the only, the central being to whom every thing tends; while nothing is either juſt or unjuſt but what he makes ſo; while his caprice is the law, and his favour the ſtandard of public eſteem; if this be not de[illegible] what other kind of government can it poſſibly [illegible]

In ſuch a ſtate of degradation, what a[illegible]en? Enſlaved as they are, they can ſcarce venture to look up to Heaven. They are inſenſible of their chains, as well as of the ſhame that attends them. The powers of their minds, extinguiſhed in the bonds of ſlavery, have not ſufficient energy to diſcover the rights inſeparable from their exiſtence. It may be a matter of doubt whether theſe ſlaves be not as culpable as their tyrants, and whether the ſpirit of liberty may not have greater reaſon to complain of the arrogance of thoſe who invade her rights, than of the weakneſs of thoſe who know not how to defend them.

It hath, however, been frequently aſſerted, that the moſt happy form of government would be that of a juſt and enlightened deſpotic prince. The abſurdity of this is evident; for it might eaſily happen that the will of this abſolute monarch might be in direct oppoſition to the will of his ſubjects. In that caſe, notwithſtanding all his juſtice and all his abilities, he would deſerve cenſure to deprive them of their rights, even though it were for their own benefit. No man whatſoever is entitled to treat his fellow-creatures like ſo many beaſts. Beaſts may be forced to exchange a bad paſture for a better; but to uſe ſuch compulſion with men, would be an act of tyranny. If they ſhould ſay that they are very well where they are, or even if they ſhould agree in allowing that their ſituation is a bad one, but that they chooſe to ſtay in it, we may endeavour to enlighten them, to undeceive them, and to bring them to juſter notions by the means of perſuaſion, but never by thoſe of compulſion. The beſt of princes, who ſhould even have done good againſt the general conſent of his people, would be culpable,

if it were only becauſe he had gone beyond his right. He would be culpable not only for the time, but even with regard to poſterity; for though he might be juſt and enlightened, yet his ſucceſſor, without inheriting either his abilities or his virtues, will certainly inherit his a[illegible] of which the nation will become the victi[illegible]ſt deſpot, juſt, ſteady, and enlightened, is a grea[illegible]mity; a ſecond deſpot, juſt, ſteady, and enlightened, would be a ſtill greater one; but a third, who ſhould ſucceed with all theſe great qualities, would be the moſt terrible ſcourge with which a nation could be afflicted. It is poſſible to emerge from a ſtate of ſlavery into which we may have been plunged by violence, but never from that into which we have been led by time and juſtice. If the lethargy of the people be the forerunner of the loſs of their liberty, what lethargy can be more mild, more profound, and more perfidious, than that which hath laſted during three reigns, and which has been kept up by acts of kindneſs?

Let not therefore theſe pretended maſters of the people be allowed even to do good againſt the general conſent. Let it be conſidered, that the condition of thoſe rulers is exactly the ſame as that of the cacique, who being aſked, Whether he had any ſlaves? anſwered: *Slaves! I know but one ſlave in all my diſtrict, and that is myſelf.*

It is of ſo much importance to prevent the eſtabliſhment of arbitrary power, and the calamities which are the infallible conſequences of it, that it is impoſſible for the deſpot himſelf to remedy theſe great evils. Should he have been upon the throne for half a century; ſhould his adminiſtration have been entirely tranquil; ſhould he have had the moſt extenſive knowledge; and ſhould his zeal for the happineſs of the people not have been one moment ſlackened; ſtill nothing would be done. The enfranchiſement, or, what is the ſame thing under another name, the civilization of an empire, is a long and difficult work. Before a nation hath been confirmed, by habit, in a durable attach-

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ment for this new order of things, a prince, either from inability, indolence, prejudice, or jealouſy, from a predilection for ancient cuſtoms, or from a ſpirit of tyranny, may annihilate all the good accompliſhed in the courſe of two or three reigns, or may ſuffer it to be ineffectual. All monuments therefore atteſt the civilization of ſtates hath been more the effect of circumſtances, than of the wiſdom of ſovereigns. All nations have changed from barbariſm to a ſtate of civilization; and from a civilized ſtate to barbariſm, till ſome unforeſeen cauſes have brought them to that level which they never perfectly maintain.

We may, perhaps, be allowed to doubt, whether all theſe cauſes concur with the efforts which are at preſent making towards the civilization of Ruſſia.

Is the climate of this region very favourable to civilization, and to population, which is ſometimes the cauſe and ſometimes the effect of them? Doth not the coldneſs of the climate require the preſervation of the large foreſts, and, conſequently, muſt not immenſe ſpaces remain uninhabited? As an exceſſive length of winter ſuſpends the labours for the ſpace of ſeven or eight months of the year, doth not the nation, during this time of lethargy, devote itſelf to gaming, to wine, to debauchery, and to an immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors? Can good manners be introduced, notwithſtanding the climate? and is it poſſible to civilize a barbarous people without manners?

Doth not the immenſe extent of the empire, which embraces all kinds of climates, from the coldeſt to the hotteſt, oppoſe a powerful obſtacle to the legiſlator? Could one and the ſame code ſuit ſo many different regions? and is not the neceſſity of having ſeveral codes the ſame thing as the impoſſibility of having only one? Can any means be conceived of ſubjecting to one ſame rule people who do not underſtand each other, who ſpeak ſeventeen or eighteen different languages, and who preſerve, from times immemorial, cuſtoms and ſuperſtitions to which they are more attached than to their exiſtence?

As authority weakens, in proportion as the ſubjects are diſtant from the centre of dominion, is it poſſible to be obeyed at a thouſand miles diſtance from the ſpot from whence the commands are iſſued? Should any body tell me that the matter is poſſible by the influence of government, I ſhall only reply by the ſpeech of one of these indiſcreet delegates, who revealed what paſſed in the mind of all the others: *God is very high; the emperor is at a great diſtance; and I am maſter here.*

As the empire is divided into two claſſes of men, that of the maſters and that of the ſlaves, how can ſuch oppoſite intereſts be conciliated? Tyrants will never freely conſent to the extinction of ſervitude; and in order to bring them to this, it would be neceſſary to ruin or to exterminate them. But ſuppoſing this obſtacle removed, how is it poſſible to raiſe from the degraded ſtate of ſlavery, to the ſentiment and to the dignity of liberty, people who are ſo entirely ſtrangers to it, as to be either helpleſs or ferocious, whenever they are releaſed from their fetters? Theſe difficulties will certainly ſuggeſt the idea of creating a third order in the ſtate; but by what means is this to be accompliſhed; and ſuppoſing the means diſcovered, how many ages would it require to obtain any ſenſible effect from them?

In expectation of the formation of this third claſs of men, which might, perhaps, be accelerated by coloniſts invited from the free countries of Europe, it would be neceſſary that an entire ſecurity ſhould be eſtabliſhed, both with reſpect to perſons and to property; and could ſuch a ſecurity be eſtabliſhed in a country where the tribunals are occupied by the lords alone; where theſe ſpecies of magiſtrates reciprocally favour each other; where there can be no proſecution againſt them, or againſt their creatures, from which either the natives or the foreigners can expect that the injuries they have received ſhould be redreſſed; and where venality pronounces the ſentence in every kind of conteſt? We ſhall aſk, whether there can be any civili-

BOOK XIX. zation without juſtice, and whether it be poſſible to eſtabliſh juſtice in ſuch an empire?

The towns are diſtributed over an immenſe territory. There are no roads, and thoſe which might be conſtructed would be ſoon ſpoiled by the climate. Accordingly, deſolation is univerſal, when the winter puts a ſtop to every communication. Travel over all the countries of the earth, and wherever we ſhall find no facility of trading from a city to a town, and from a village to a hamlet, we may pronounce the people to be barbarians; and we ſhall only be deceived reſpecting the degree of barbariſm. In this ſtate of things, the greateſt happineſs that could happen to a country of an enormous extent would be to be diſmembered by ſome great revolution, and to be divided into ſeveral petty ſovereignties, contiguous to each other, where the order introduced into ſome of them would be diffuſed through the reſt. If it be very difficult to govern properly a large civilized empire, muſt it not be more ſo to civilize a vaſt and barbarous empire?

Toleration, it is true, ſubſiſts at Peterſburgh, and almoſt in an unlimited degree. Judaiſm alone is excluded, becauſe it hath been thought that its ſectators were either too crafty, or too deceitful in trade, to expoſe to their ſnares a people who had not experience enough to preſerve themſelves from them. This toleration in the capital would be a great ſtep towards civilization, if in the reſt of the empire the people did not remain immerſed in the moſt groſs ſuperſtitions; and if theſe ſuperſtitions were not fomented by a numerous clergy, plunged in debauchery and ignorance, without being the leſs revered. How can a ſtate be civilized without the interference of prieſts, who are neceſſarily prejudicial, if not uſeful?

The high opinion that, according to the example of the Chineſe, the Ruſſians have of themſelves, is another obſtacle to reformation. They truly conſider themſelves as the moſt ſenſible people upon the earth, and are confirmed in this abſurd vanity by thoſe among

them who have viſited the reſt of Europe. Theſe travellers bring back, or feign to bring back, into their country, the prejudice of their own ſuperiority, and enrich it only with the vices which they have acquired in the divers regions where chance hath conducted them. Accordingly, a foreign obſerver, who had gone over the greateſt part of the empire, uſed to ſay, that *the Ruſſians was as rotten before he had been ripe.*

We might extend ourſelves more upon the difficulties which nature and cuſtoms obſtinately oppoſe to the civilization of Ruſſia. Let us examine the means which have been contrived to ſucceed in it.

Catherine hath undoubtedly been very well convinced, that liberty was the only ſource of public happineſs: and yet, hath ſhe really abdicated deſpotic authority? In reading attentively her inſtructions to the deputies of the empire, apparently intruſted with the formation of the laws, is any thing more found in them than the deſire of altering denominations, and of being called monarch, inſtead of autocratrix? of calling her people ſubjects, inſtead of ſlaves? Will the Ruſſians, blind as they are, take the name, inſtead of the thing, for any length of time? and will their character be elevated, by this farce, to that great degree of energy with which it was propoſed to inſpire them?

A ſovereign, however great his genius may be, ſeldom makes alterations of any conſequence by himſelf, and ſtill more unfrequently gives them any degree of ſtability. He ſtands in need of aſſiſtance, and Ruſſia can offer no other than that of fighting. Its ſoldiers are hardy, ſober, indefatigable. Slavery, which hath inſpired them with a contempt of life, hath united with ſuperſtition, which hath inſpired them with contempt of death. They are perſuaded, that, whatever crimes they may have committed, their ſoul will aſcend to heaven from the field of battle. But military men, if they defend the provinces, do not civilize them. In vain do we ſeek for ſtateſmen about the perſon of Catherine. What ſhe hath done of herſelf may be aſſo-

BOOK XIX. niſhing; but who can be ſubſtituted to her, when ſhe ſhall be no more?

This princeſs hath founded houſes, in which young people of both ſexes are brought up with the ſentiment of liberty. This will undoubtedly produce a different race from the preſent. But are theſe eſtabliſhments founded upon a ſolid baſis? Are they ſuſtained by themſelves, or by the ſuccours which are inceſſantly laviſhed upon them? If the preſent reign hath ſeen the origin of them, will not the ſucceeding reign ſee them annihilated? Are they very agreeable to the great, who perceive the deſtination of them? Will not the climate, which diſpoſes of every thing, prevail at length over good principles? Will corruption ſpare thoſe young people who are loſt in the immenſity of the empire, and who are aſſailed on all ſides by bad morals?

There are a great number of academies of all kinds in the capital; and if theſe be filled by foreigners, will not theſe eſtabliſhments be uſeleſs and ruinous, in a country where the learned are not underſtood, and where there is no employment for artiſts? In order that talents and knowledge might thrive, it would be neceſſary, that, being offſprings of the ſoil, they ſhould be the effect of a ſuperabundant population. When will this population arrive to the proper degree of increaſe, in a country where the ſlave, to conſole himſelf for the wretchedneſs of his condition, may indeed produce as many children as he can, but will care very little about preſerving them?

All thoſe who are admitted and brought up in the hoſpital recently eſtabliſhed for foundlings, are for ever emancipated from ſlavery. Their deſcendants will not ſubmit to the yoke again; and as in Spain there are old or new Chriſtians, ſo in Ruſſia there will be old and new freemen. But the effect of this innovation can only be proportioned to its continuance: and can we reckon upon the duration of any eſtabliſhment, in a country where the ſucceſſion to the empire is not yet

inviolably confirmed, and where the inconſtancy which is natural to an enſlaved people brings on frequent and ſudden revolutions? If the authors of theſe conſpiracies do not form a body, as in Turkey, if they be a ſet of inſulated individuals, they are ſoon aſſembled together, by a ſecret ferment and by a common hatred.

During the laſt war, a fund was created for the uſe of all the members of the empire, even of ſlaves. By this idea of ſound and deep policy, the government acquired a capital, of which it ſtood in great need; and it ſheltered, as much as poſſible, the vaſſals from the vexations of their tyrants. It is in the nature of things, that the confidence with which this paper money hath been received ſhould change, and be annulled. It doth not belong to a deſpot to obtain credit; and if ſome ſingular events have procured it to him, it is a neceſſary conſequence, that ſucceeding events will make him loſe it.

Such are the difficulties which have appeared to us to counteract the civilization of the Ruſſian empire. If Catherine II. ſhould ſucceed in ſurmounting them, we ſhall have made the moſt magnificent eulogium of her courage and her genius; and perhaps the beſt apology, if ſhe ſhould fail in this great deſign.

Sweden is ſituated between Ruſſia and Denmark. Let us examine the hiſtory of its conſtitution, and endeavour, if poſſible, to find out the nature of it.

Nations that are poor are almoſt neceſſarily warlike; becauſe their very poverty, the burden of which they conſtantly feel, inſpires them ſooner or later with a deſire of freeing themſelves from it; and this deſire, in proceſs of time, becomes the general ſpirit of the nation, and the ſpring of the government.

It only requires a ſucceſſion of ſovereigns, fortunate in war, to change ſuddenly the government of ſuch a country, from the ſtate of a mild monarchy, to that of the moſt abſolute deſpotiſm. The monarch, proud of his triumph, thinks he will be ſuffered to do whatever he chooſes, begins to acknowledge no law but his will; and his ſoldiers, whom he hath led ſo often to

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victory, ready to ſerve him in all things, and againſt all men, become, by their attachment to the prince, the terror of their fellow-citizens. The people, on the other hand, dare not refuſe the chains, when offered to them by him, who, to the authority of his rank, joins that which he holds from their admiration and gratitude.

The yoke impoſed by a monarch who has conquered the enemies of the ſtate is certainly burdenſome; but the ſubjects dare not ſhake it off. It even grows heavier under ſucceſſors, who have not the ſame claim to the indulgence of the people. Whenever any conſiderable reverſe of fortune takes place, the deſpot will be left to their mercy. Then the people, irritated by their long ſufferings, ſeldom fail to avail themſelves of the opportunity of recovering their rights. But as they have neither views nor plans, they quickly paſs from ſlavery to anarchy. In the midſt of this general confuſion, one exclamation only is heard, and that is, Liberty. But, as they know not how to ſecure to themſelves this ineſtimable benefit, the nation becomes immediately divided into various factions, which are guided by different intereſts.

If there be one among theſe factions that deſpairs of prevailing over the others, that faction ſeparates itſelf from the reſt, unmindful of the general good; and being more anxious to prejudice its rivals than to ſerve its country, it ſides with the ſovereign. From that moment there are but two parties in the ſtate, diſtinguiſhed by two different names, which, whatever they be, never mean any thing more than royaliſts and anti-royaliſts. This is the period of great commotions and conſpiracies.

The neighbouring powers then act the ſame part they have ever acted at all times, and in all countries, upon ſimilar occaſions. They foment jealouſies between the people and their prince; they ſuggeſt to the ſubjects every poſſible method of debaſing, degrading, and annihilating the ſovereignty; they corrupt even thoſe who are neareſt the throne; they occaſion

ſome form of adminiſtration to be adopted, prejudicial both to the whole body of the nation, which it impoveriſhes under pretence of exerting itſelf for their liberty, and injurious to the ſovereign, whoſe prerogative it reduces to nothing.

The monarch then meets with as many authorities oppoſed to his, as there are ranks in the ſtate. His will is then nothing without their concurrence. Aſſemblies muſt then be holden, propoſals made, and affairs of the leaſt importance debated. Tutors are aſſigned to him, as to a pupil in his non-age; and thoſe tutors are perſons whom he may always expect to find ill-intentioned towards him.

But what is then the ſtate of the nation? The neighbouring powers have now, by their influence, thrown every thing into confuſion; they have overturned the ſtate, or ſeduced all the members of it by bribery or intrigues. There is now but one party in the kingdom, and that is the party which eſpouſes the intereſt of the foreign powers. The members of the factions are all diſſemblers. Attachment to the king is an hypocriſy, and averſion for monarchy another. They are two different maſks to conceal ambition and avarice. The whole nation is now entirely compoſed of infamous and venal men.

It is not difficult to conceive what muſt happen after this. The foreign powers that had corrupted the nation muſt be deceived in their expectations. They did not perceive that they carried matters too far; that, perhaps, they acted a part quite contrary to that which a deeper policy would have ſuggeſted; that they were deſtroying the power of the nation, while they meant only to reſtrain that of the ſovereign, which might one day exert itſelf with all its force, and meet with no reſiſtance capable of checking it; and that this unexpected effect might be brought about in an inſtant, and by one man.

That inſtant is come; that man hath appeared; and all theſe baſe creatures of adverſe powers have proſtrated themſelves before him. He told theſe men, who

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Poland, which has none but ſlaves within, and therefore deſerves to meet with none but oppreſſors without, ſtill preſerves, however, the ſhadow and the name of liberty. This kingdom is, at preſent, no better than all the European ſtates were ten centuries ago, ſubject to a powerful ariſtocracy, which elects a king, in order to make him ſubſervient to its will. Each nobleman, by virtue of his feudal tenure, which he preſerves with his ſword, as his anceſtors acquired it, holds a perſonal and hereditary authority over his vaſſals. The feudal government prevails there in all the force of its primitive inſtitution. It is an empire compoſed of as many ſtates as there are lands. All the laws are ſettled there, and all reſolutions taken, not by the majority, but by the unanimity of the ſuffrages. Upon falſe notions of right and perfection, it has been ſuppoſed that a law was only juſt when it was adopted by unanimous conſent; becauſe it has undoubtedly been thought, that what was right would both be perceived and put in practice by all; two things that are impoſſible in a national aſſembly. But can we even aſcribe ſuch pure intentions to a ſet of tyrants? For this conſtitution,

which boaſts the title of a republic, and profanes it, is only a league of petty tyrants againſt the people. In this country, every one has the power to reſtrain, and no one the power to act. Here the will of each individual may be in oppoſition to the general one; and here only a fool, a wicked man, and a madman, is ſure to prevail over a whole nation.

In this ſtate of anarchy, there is a perpetual ſtruggle between the great and the monarch. The former torment the chief of the ſtate by their avidity, their ambition, and their miſtruſt; they irritate him againſt liberty, and compel him to have recourſe to intrigue. The prince, on his part, divides in order to command, ſeduces in order to defend himſelf, and oppoſes artifice to artifice in order to maintain himſelf. The factions are inflamed, diſcord throws every thing into confuſion, and the provinces are delivered up to fire, to ſword, and to devaſtation. If the confederacy ſhould prevail, he who ſhould have governed the nation is expelled from the throne, or reduced to the moſt ignominious dependence. If it ſhould be ſubdued, the ſovereign reigns only over carcaſes. Whatever may happen, the fate of the multitude experiences no fortunate revolution. Such of theſe unhappy people who have eſcaped from famine and carnage, continue to bear the chains with which they were cruſhed.

If we go over theſe vaſt regions, what ſhall we ſee in them? The regal dignity, with the title of a republic; the pomp of the throne, with the inability of inſuring obedience; the extravagant love of independence, with all the meanneſs of ſlavery; liberty, with cupidity; laws, with anarchy; the moſt exceſſive luxury, with the greateſt indigence; a fertile ſoil, with fallow lands; a taſte for all the arts, without any one of them. Such are the enormous contraſts Poland will exhibit.

It will be found expoſed to every danger. The weakeſt of its enemies may enter with impunity, and without precaution, upon its territory, levy contributions, deſtroy the towns, ravage the country places,

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and maſſacre or carry off the inhabitants. Deſtitute of troops, of fortreſſes, of artillery, of ammunition, of money, of generals, and totally ignorant of military principles, what defence could it think of making? With a ſufficient population, with ſufficient genius and reſources to appear of ſome conſequence, Poland is become the opprobrium and the ſport of nations.

If turbulent and enterpriſing neighbours had not yet invaded its poſſeſſions; if they had been ſatisfied with laying it waſte, with dictating to it, and with giving it kings; it is becauſe they were continually miſtruſtful of each other, but particular circumſtances have united them. It was reſerved for our days to ſee this ſtate torn in pieces by three powerful rivals, who have appropriated to themſelves thoſe provinces that were moſt ſuitable to them, while no power of Europe hath exerted itſelf to prevent this invaſion. It is in the midſt of the ſecurity of peace, without rights, without pretenſions, without grievances, and without a ſhadow of juſtice, that the revolution hath been accompliſhed by the terrible principle of force, which is, unfortunately, the beſt argument of kings. How great Poniatowſki would have appeared, if, when he ſaw the preparatives for this diviſion, he had preſented himſelf in the midſt of the diet, and there abdicating the marks of his dignity, had proudly ſaid to his nobles aſſembled, "It is your choice that hath raiſed me to "the throne. If you repent of it, I reſign the royal "dignity. The crown which you have placed upon "my head, let it devolve to any one whom you ſhall "think more worthy of it than me; name him, and "I will withdraw. But if you perſiſt in your former "oaths, let us fight together to ſave our country, or "let us periſh along with it." I appeal to the dividing powers, whether ſo generous a ſtep would not have ſaved Poland from ruin, and its prince from the diſgrace of having been its laſt ſovereign. But fate hath determined the matter otherwiſe. May this crime of ambition turn out to the advantage of mankind; and by prudently recurring to the ſound principles of good

policy, may the uſurpers break the chains of the moſt laborious part of their new ſubjects! Theſe people, become *leſs unhappy*, will be more intelligent, more active, more affectionate, and more faithful.

In a monarchy, the forces and wills of every individual are at the diſpoſal of one ſingle man; in the government of Germany, each ſeparate ſtate conſtitutes a body. This is, perhaps, the nation that reſembles moſt what it formerly was. The ancient Germans, divided into colonies by immenſe foreſts, had no occaſion for a very refined legiſlation. But in proportion as their deſcendants have multiplied and come nearer each other, art has kept up in this country what nature had eſtabliſhed, the ſeparation of the people and their political union. The ſmall ſtates that compoſe this confederate republic preſerve the character of the firſt families. Each particular government is not always parental; or the rulers of the nations are not always mild and humane. But ſtill reaſon and liberty, which unite the chiefs to each other, ſoften the ſeverity of their diſpoſitions and the rigour of their authority: a prince in Germany cannot be a tyrant with the ſame ſecurity as in large monarchies.

The Germans, who are rather warriors than a warlike people, becauſe they are rather proficients in the art of war than addicted to it from inclination, have been conquered but once; and it was Charlemagne who conquered, but could not reduce them to ſubjection. They obeyed the man, who, by talents ſuperior to the age he lived in, had ſubdued and enlightened its barbariſm; but they ſhook off the yoke of his ſucceſſors. They preſerved, however, the title of emperor to their chief; but it was merely a name, ſince, in fact, the power reſided almoſt entirely in the barons who poſſeſſed the lands. The people, who in all countries have unfortunately always been enſlaved, ſpoiled, and kept in a ſtate of miſery and ignorance, each the effect of the other, reaped no advantage from the legiſlation. This ſubverted that ſocial equality which does not tend to reduce all conditions and eſtates to

BOOK XIX. the ſame degree, but to a more general diffuſion of property; and upon its ruins was formed the feudal government, the characteriſtic of which is anarchy. Every nobleman lived in a total independence, and each people under the moſt abſolute tyranny. This was the unavoidable conſequence of a government where the crown was elective. In thoſe ſtates where it was hereditary, the people had at leaſt a bulwark and a permanent refuge againſt oppreſſion. The regal authority could not extend itſelf, without alleviating for ſome time the fate of the vaſſals, by diminiſhing the power of the nobles.

But in Germany, where the nobles took advantage of each interregnum to invade and to reſtrain the rights of the Imperial power, the government could not but degenerate. Superior force decided every diſpute between thoſe who could appeal to the ſword. Countries and people were only the cauſes or the objects of war between the proprietors. Crimes were the ſupport of injuſtice. Rapine, murder, and conflagrations, not only became frequent, but even lawful. Superſtition, which had conſecrated tyranny, was compelled to reſtrain it. The church, which afforded an aſylum to banditti of every kind, eſtabliſhed a truce between them. The protection of ſaints was implored to eſcape the fury of the nobles. The aſhes of the dead were only ſufficient to awe the ferociouſneſs of theſe people; ſo alarming are the terrors of the grave, even to men of cruel and ſavage diſpoſitions.

When the minds of men, kept in conſtant alarm, were diſpoſed to tranquillity through fear, policy, which avails itſelf equally of reaſon and the paſſions, of ignorance and underſtanding, to rule over mankind, attempted to reform the government. On the one hand, ſeveral inhabitants in the countries were enfranchiſed; and on the other, exemptions were granted in favour of the cities. A number of men in all parts were made free. The emperors, who, to ſecure their election even among ignorant and ferocious princes, were obliged to diſcover ſome abilities and

ſome virtues, prepared the way for the improvement of the legiſlation.

Maximilian improved the means of happineſs which time and particular events had concurred to produce in his age. He put an end to the anarchy of the great. In France and Spain, they had been made ſubject to regal authority; in Germany, the emperors made them ſubmit to the authority of the laws. For the ſake of the public tranquillity, every prince is amenable to juſtice. It is true, that theſe laws eſtabliſhed among princes, who may be conſidered as lions, do not ſave the people, who may be compared to lambs: they are ſtill at the mercy of their rulers, who are only bound one towards another. But as public tranquillity cannot be violated, nor war commenced, without the prince who is the cauſe of it being ſubject to the penalties of a tribunal that is always open, and ſupported by all the forces of the empire, the people are leſs expoſed to thoſe ſudden irruptions, and unforeſeen hoſtilities, which, threatening the property of the ſovereigns, continually endangered the lives and ſafety of the ſubjects.

Why ſhould not Europe be one day entirely ſubject to the ſame form of government? Why ſhould there not be the ban of Europe, as there is the ban of the empire? Why ſhould not the princes compoſing ſuch a tribunal, the authority of which ſhould be conſented to by all, and maintained unanimouſly againſt any one refractory member, realize the beautiful viſionary ſyſtem of the Abbé St. Pierre? Why ſhould not the complaints of the ſubjects be carried to this tribunal, as well as the complaints of one ſovereign againſt another? Then would wiſdom reign upon the earth.

While this perpetual peace, which hath been ſo long wiſhed for, and which is ſtill at ſuch a diſtance, is expected, war, which formerly eſtabliſhed right, is now ſubject to conditions that moderate its fury. The claims of humanity are heard even in the midſt of carnage. Thus Europe is indebted to Germany for the improvement of the legiſlation in all ſtates; regulari-

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ty and forms even in the revenge of nations; a certain equity even in the abuſe of power; moderation in the midſt of victory; a check to the ambition of all potentates; in a word, freſh obſtacles to war, and freſh encouragements to peace.

This happy conſtitution of the German empire has improved with the progreſs of reaſon ever ſince the reign of Maximilian. Nevertheleſs, the Germans themſelves complain, that, although they form a national body, diſtinguiſhed by the ſame name, ſpeaking the ſame language, living under the ſame chief, enjoying the ſame privileges, and connected by the ſame intereſts, yet their empire has not the advantage of that tranquillity, that power and conſideration, which it ought to have.

The cauſes of this misfortune are obvious. The firſt is the obſcurity of the laws. The writings upon the *jus publicum* of Germany are numberleſs; and there are but few Germans who are verſed in the conſtitution of their country. All the members of the empire now ſend their repreſentatives to the national aſſembly, whereas they formerly ſat there themſelves. The military turn, which is become univerſal, has precluded all application to buſineſs, ſuppreſſed every generous ſentiment of patriotiſm, and all attachment to fellow-citizens. There is not one of the princes who has not ſettled his court too magnificently for his income, and who does not authoriſe the moſt flagrant oppreſſions to ſupport this ridiculous pomp. In ſhort, nothing contributes to the decay of the empire ſo much as the too extenſive dominion of ſome of its princes. The ſovereigns, become too powerful, ſeparate their private intereſt from the general good. This reciprocal diſunion among the ſtates, is the reaſon that, in dangers which are common to all, each province is left to itſelf. It is obliged to ſubmit to that prince, whoever he may be, whoſe power is ſuperior; and thus the Germanic conſtitution degenerates inſenſibly into ſlavery or tyranny.

Great Britain was but little known before the Ro-

mans had carried their arms there. After theſe proud conquerors had forſaken it, as well as the other provinces diſtant from their dominion, in order to defend the centre of their empire againſt the barbarians, it became the prey of the inhabitants of the Baltic Sea. The natives of the country were maſſacred; and upon their remains ſeveral ſovereignties were founded, which were in time united into one. The principles by which the Anglo-Saxons were guided have never been handed down to us; but we know, that, like all the northern nations, they had a king and a body of nobility.

William ſubdued the ſouthern part of the iſland, which even at that time was called England, and eſtabliſhed a feudal government in it, but very different from that which was ſeen in the reſt of Europe. In other parts, government was nothing but a labyrinth without an iſſue, a perpetual anarchy, and the right of the ſtrongeſt. This terrible conqueror eſtabliſhed it upon a more reſpectable, a more regular, and a more permanent footing, reſerving to himſelf excluſively the right of hunting and of war, the power of levying taxes, the advantage of having a court of juſtice, where civil or criminal cauſes of all the orders of the ſtate were ultimately adjudged by him and by the great officers of his crown, whom he appointed or diſmiſſed at pleaſure.

As long as the tyrant lived, the conquered people, and the foreigners whom he had employed to ſubdue them, ſubmitted to this harſh yoke, as it were, almoſt unanimouſly, and without murmuring openly. Afterwards, both the one and the other, being accuſtomed to a more moderate authority, endeavoured to recover ſome of their primitive rights. Deſpotiſm was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, as to render it impoſſible to ſubvert it, without the moſt complete unanimity. Accordingly, a league was formed, in which all the citizens without diſtinction, either of noblemen or of peaſants, of inhabitants of towns or of the country, united their reſentments and their intereſts. This univerſal confederacy

BOOK XIX. ſoftened a little the deſtiny of the nation under the reigns of the two firſt Henrys; but it was not till during that of John that it truly recovered its liberty. Fortunately this turbulent, cruel, ignorant, and diſſipated monarch, was compelled, by force of arms, to grant that famous charter, which aboliſhed the moſt oppreſſive of the feudal laws, and ſecured to the vaſſals, reſpecting their lords, the ſame rights as were confirmed to the lords in regard to kings; which put all perſons, and every ſpecies of property, under the protection of peers and of juries, and which, even in favour of the vaſſals, diminiſhed the oppreſſion of ſlavery.

This arrangement ſuſpended for a ſhort time the jealouſy ſubſiſting between the barons and the princes, without extinguiſhing entirely the ſource of it. The wars began again, and the people availed themſelves of the idea they had given of their ſtrength and courage during theſe commotions, in order to gain admiſſion into parliament under Edward I. Their deputies, it is true, had at firſt no more than the rights of repreſentation in this aſſembly; but this ſucceſs was the prelude to other advantages, and accordingly the commons ſoon determined the ſubſidies, and made part of the legiſlation; they even ſoon acquired the prerogative of impeaching and bringing to judgment thoſe miniſters who had abuſed the authority they were intruſted with.

The nation had gradually reduced the power of the chiefs to what it ought to be, when it became engaged in long and obſtinate wars againſt France, and when the pretenſions of the Houſes of York and Lancaſter made all England a ſcene of carnage and of deſolation. During theſe dreadful commotions the din of arms alone was heard. The laws were ſilent, and they did not even recover the leaſt part of their force when the ſtorms were appeaſed. Tyranny was exerted with ſo many atrocious acts, that citizens of all ranks gave up every idea of general liberty in order to attend only to their perſonal ſafety. This cruel

deſpotiſm laſted more than a century. Elizabeth herſelf, whoſe adminiſtration might, in ſeveral reſpects, ſerve as a model, always conducted herſelf according to principles entirely arbitrary.

James I. apparently recalled to the minds of the people thoſe rights which they ſeemed to have forgotten; leſs wiſe than his predeceſſors, who had contented themſelves with tacitly enjoying unlimited power, and, as it were, under the veil of myſtery, this prince, deceived by the name of monarchy, encouraged in his illuſion by his courtiers and his clergy, openly avowed his pretenſions with a degree of blind ſimplicity, of which there had been no example. The doctrine of paſſive obedience, iſſued from the throne, and taught in the churches, diffuſed univerſal alarm.

At this period, liberty, that idol of elevated minds, which renders them ferocious in a ſavage ſtate and haughty in a civilized one, liberty, which had reigned in the breaſts of the Engliſh at a time even when they were but imperfectly acquainted with its advantages, inflamed the minds of all men. In the reign of this firſt of the Stuarts, however, it was only a perpetual ſtruggle between the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the citizens. Oppoſition appeared under another aſpect in the reign of the obſtinate ſucceſſor of this weak deſpot. Arms became the ſole arbiter of theſe great concerns, and the nation ſhowed, that in combating formerly for the choice of their tyrants, they had paved the way for deſtroying them, puniſhing, and expelling them at another time.

To put an end to the ſpirit of revenge and miſtruſt, which would have been perpetuated between the king and the people as long as the Stuarts had occupied the throne, the Engliſh choſe from a foreign race, a prince who was obliged to accept at laſt of that ſocial compact of which all hereditary monarchs affect to be ignorant. William III. received the crown on certain conditions, and contented himſelf with an authority eſtabliſhed upon the ſame baſis as the rights of the people. Since a parliamentary claim is become

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The government is formed between abſolute monarchy, which is tyranny; democracy, which tends to anarchy; and ariſtocracy, which, fluctuating between one and the other, falls into the errors of both. The mixt government of the Engliſh, combining the advantages of theſe three powers, which mutually obſerve, moderate, aſſiſt, and check each other, tends from its very principles to the national good. Theſe ſeveral ſprings, by their action and reaction, form an equilibrium from which liberty ariſes. This conſtitution, of which there is no inſtance among the ancients, and which ought to ſerve as a model to all people, whoſe geographical poſition will admit of it, will laſt for a long time, becauſe at its origin, which is uſually the work of commotions, of manners, and of tranſient opinions, it became the work of reaſon and experience.

The firſt fortunate ſingularity in the conſtitution of Great Britain, is to have a king. Moſt of the republican ſtates known in hiſtory, had formerly annual chiefs. This continual change of magiſtrates proved an inexhauſtible ſource of intrigues and confuſion, and kept up a continual commotion in the minds of men. By creating one very great citizen England hath prevented the riſing up of many. By this ſtroke of wiſdom thoſe diſſenſions have been prevented, which in all popular aſſociations have induced the ruin of liberty, and the real enjoyment of this firſt of bleſſings before it had been loſt.

The royal authority in England is not only for life, but is alſo hereditary. At firſt ſight, nothing appears more advantageous for a nation than the right of chooſing its maſters. An inexhauſtible ſource of talents and virtues ſeems to ſpring from this brilliant prerogative. This would indeed be the caſe, if the crown were neceſſarily to devolve to the citizen moſt worthy to wear it. But this is a chimerical idea, diſproved by the experience of all people and of all ages. A throne

hath always appeared to the eyes of ambition, of too great a value to be the appurtenance of merit alone. Thoſe who aſpire to it have always had recourſe to intrigue, to corruption and to force. Their competition hath excited at every vacancy a civil war, the greateſt of political calamities, and the perſon who hath obtained the preference over his competitors, hath been nothing more during the courſe of his reign but the tyrant of the people, or the ſlave of thoſe to whom he owed his elevation. The Britons are therefore to be commended for having averted from themſelves theſe calamities, by putting the reins of government into the hands of a family that had merited and obtained their confidence.

It was proper to ſecure to the chief of the ſtate a revenue ſufficient to ſupport the dignity of his rank. Accordingly, at his acceſſion to the throne, an annual ſubſidy is granted to him for his own life, fit for a great king, and worthy of an opulent nation. But this conceſſion is not to be made till after a ſtrick examination of the ſtate of public affairs; after the abuſes which might have introduced themſelves in preceding reigns have been reformed, and after the conſtitution hath been brought back to its true principles. By this management England hath obtained an advantage which all free governments had endeavoured to procure to themſelves, that is to ſay, a periodical reformation.

To aſſign to the monarch that kind of authority beſt calculated for the good of the people, was not ſo eaſy a matter. All hiſtories atteſt, that wherever the executive power hath been divided, the minds of men have always been agitated with endleſs hatred and jealouſies, and that a ſanguinary conteſt hath always tended to the ruin of the laws and to the eſtabliſhment of the ſtrongeſt power. This conſideration determined the Engliſh to confer on the king alone this ſpecies of power, which is nothing when it is divided; ſince there is then neither that harmony, nor

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that ſecrecy, nor that diſpatch, which can alone impart energy to it.

From this great prerogative neceſſarily follows the diſpoſal of the forces of the republic. The abuſes of them would have been difficult in times when the militia were but ſeldom aſſembled, and only for a few months, and when therefore they had no time to loſe that attachment they owed to their country. But ſince all the princes of Europe have contracted the ruinous habit of maintaining, even in time of peace, a ſtanding army of mercenary troops, and ſince the ſafety of Great Britain hath required that ſhe ſhould conform to this fatal cuſtom, the danger is become greater, and it has been neceſſary to increaſe the precautions. The nation alone hath the power of aſſembling the troops; ſhe never ſettles them for more than a year, and the taxes eſtabliſhed for the payment of them have only the ſame duration. So that if this mode of defence, which circumſtances have induced to think neceſſary, ſhould threaten liberty, it would never be long before the troubles would be put an end to.

A ſtill firmer ſupport to the Engliſh liberty, is the diviſion of the legiſlative power. Wherever the monarch can eſtabliſh or aboliſh laws at pleaſure there is no government; the prince is a deſpot, and the people are ſlaves. If the legiſlative power be divided, a well-regulated conſtitution will ſcarce ever be corrupted, and that only for a ſhort time. From the fear of being ſuſpected of ignorance or corruption, neither of the parties would venture to make dangerous propoſals, and if either of them ſhould, it would diſgrace itſelf to no purpoſe. In this arrangement of things, the greateſt inconvenience that can happen, is that a good law ſhould be rejected, or that it ſhould not be adopted ſo ſoon as the greateſt poſſible good might require. The portion of the legiſlative power which the people have recovered, is inſured to them by the excluſive regulation they have of the taxes. Every ſtate hath both cuſtomary and contingent wants. Neither the one nor the

other can be provided for any otherwiſe than by taxes, and in Great Britain the ſovereign cannot exact one. He can only addreſs himſelf to the Commons, who order what they think moſt ſuitable to the national intereſt, and who, after having regulated the taxes, have an account given to them of the uſe they have been put to.

It is not the multitude who exerciſe theſe ineſtimable prerogatives, which their courage and their perſeverance have procured to them. This order of things, which may be proper for feeble aſſociations, would neceſſarily have ſubverted every thing in a great ſtate. Repreſentatives, choſen by the people themſelves, and whoſe deſtiny is connected with theirs, reflect, ſpeak, and act for them. As it was poſſible, however, that, either from indolence, weakneſs, or corruption, theſe repreſentatives might fail in the moſt auguſt and the moſt important of duties, the remedy of this great evil hath been found in the right of election. As ſoon as the time of the commiſſion expires, the electors are aſſembled. They grant their confidence again to thoſe who have ſhown themſelves worthy of it, and they reject with diſdain thoſe who have betrayed it. As a diſcernment of this kind is not above the abilities of common men, becauſe it depends upon facts, which are uſually very ſimple, thoſe diſorders are thus terminated which did not derive their ſource from the effects of government, but from the particular diſpoſitions of thoſe who directed its operations.

Nevertheleſs, there might reſult from this diviſion of power between the king and the people a continual ſtruggle, which, in proceſs of time, might have brought on either a republic or ſlavery. To prevent this inconvenience, an intermediate body hath been eſtabliſhed, which muſt be equally apprehenſive of both theſe revolutions. This is the order of the nobility, deſtined to lean to the ſide which might become the weakeſt, and thus ever to maintain the equilibrium. The conſtitution, indeed, hath not given them the ſame degree of authority as to the Commons; but the ſplen-

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dour of hereditary dignity, the privileges of a ſeat in the Houſe of Peers, belonging to themſelves and without election, together with ſome other prerogatives of honour, have been contrived to ſubſtitute as much as poſſible to what they wanted in real ſtrength.

But if, notwithſtanding ſo many precautions, it ſhould at length happen, that ſome ambitious and enterpriſing monarch ſhould wiſh to reign without his parliament, or to compel them to agree to his arbitrary deciſions, the only reſource remaining to the nation would be reſiſtance.

It was upon a ſyſtem of paſſive obedience, of divine right, and of power not to be diſſolved, that the regal authority was formerly ſupported. Theſe abſurd and fatal prejudices had ſubdued all Europe, when, in 1688, the Engliſh precipitated from the throne a ſuperſtitious, perſecuting, and deſpotic prince. Then it was underſtood, that the people did not belong to their chiefs; then the neceſſity of an equitable government among mankind was inconteſtibly eſtabliſhed; then were the foundations of ſocieties ſettled; then the legitimate right of defence, the laſt reſource of nations that are oppreſſed, was incontrovertibly fixed. At this memorable period, the doctrine of reſiſtance, which had till then been only one act of violence oppoſed to other acts of violence, was avowed in England by the law itſelf.

But how is it poſſible to render this great principle uſeful and efficient? Will a ſingle citizen, left to his own ſtrength, ever venture to ſtrive againſt the power, always formidable, of thoſe who govern? Will he not neceſſarily be cruſhed by their intrigues, or by their oppreſſion? This would undoubtedly be the caſe, were it not for the indefinite liberty of the preſs. By this fortunate expedient, the actions of the depoſitaries of authority become public. Any vexations or outrages that have been committed over the moſt obſcure individual, are ſoon brought to light. His cauſe becomes the cauſe of all; and the oppreſſors are puniſhed, or ſatisfaction is only offered for the injury, accord-

ing to the nature of the offence, or the diſpoſition of the people.

This deſcription of the Britiſh Conſtitution, made without art, muſt have convinced all perſons of a proper way of thinking, that there hath never been a conſtitution ſo well regulated upon the face of the globe. We ſhall be confirmed in this opinion, when we conſider that the moſt important affairs have always been publicly canvaſſed in the ſenate of the nation, without any real miſchief having ever reſulted from it. Other powers think they ſtand in need of the veil of myſtery, to cover their operations. Secrecy appears to them eſſential to their preſervation, or to their proſperity. They endeavour to conceal their ſituation, their projects, and their alliancies, from their enemies, from their rivals, and even from their friends. The quality of being impenetrable, is the greateſt praiſe they think they can beſtow upon a ſtateſman. In England, the internal, as well as external, proceedings of government, are all open, all expoſed to the face of day. How noble and confident it is, in a nation, to admit the univerſe to its deliberations! How honeſt, and advantageous it is, to admit all the citizens to them! Never hath Europe been told, in a more energetic manner: *We do not fear thee.* Never hath it been ſaid, with more confidence and juſtice, to any nation: *Try us, and ſee whether we be not faithful depoſitaries of your intereſts, of your glory, and of your happineſs.* The empire is conſtituted with ſufficient ſtrength, to reſiſt the ſhocks which are inſeparable from ſuch a cuſtom, and to give this advantage to neighbours who may not be favourably inclined.

But is this government a perfect one? Certainly not; becauſe there is not, neither can there be, any thing perfect in this world. In a matter ſo complicated, how is it poſſible to foreſee and to obviate every thing? Perhaps, in order that the chief of the nation ſhould be as dependent upon the will of the people, as would be favourable to their ſecurity, liberty, and happineſs, it

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would be neceſſary that this chief ſhould have no property out of his kingdom. Otherwiſe the good of one country happening to claſh with that of the other, the intereſts of the precarious ſovereignty will often be ſacrificed to thoſe of the hereditary ſovereignty; otherwiſe, the enemies of the ſtate will have two powerful means of moleſting it; ſometimes by intimidating the king of Great Britain, by threats addreſſed to the elector of Hanover; ſometimes by engaging the king in fatal wars, which they will prolong at pleaſure; ſometimes by compelling the elector to put an end to theſe hoſtilities by a ſhameful peace. Will the nation meanly abandon the king in quarrels that are foreign to them? and if they ſhould interfere, will it not be at their expence, at the loſs of their revenues and of their population? Who knows whether the danger of the foreign ſovereign will not render him baſe, and even treacherous, to the national ſovereign? In this caſe, the Britiſh nation could do nothing better than to ſay to their ſovereign: *Either reſign your ſovereignty or your electorate; abdicate the dominions you hold from your anceſtors, if you mean to keep thoſe you hold from us.*

A conſtitution, in which the legiſlative and executive power are ſeparate, bears within itſelf the ſeeds of perpetual conteſt. It is impoſſible that peace ſhould reign between two oppoſite political bodies. Prerogative muſt endeavour to extend itſelf, and preſs upon liberty, and *vice verſa*.

Whatever admiration we may have for a government, if it can only preſerve itſelf by the ſame means by which it had been eſtabliſhed; if its future hiſtory muſt exhibit the ſame ſcenes as the paſt, ſuch as rebellion, civil wars, deſtruction of the people, the aſſaſſination or expulſion of kings, a ſtate of perpetual alarms and commotions, who would wiſh for a government upon ſuch conditions? If peace, both within and without, be the object of adminiſtration, what ſhall we think of an order of things that is incompatible with it?

Would it not be to be wiſhed, that the number of repreſentatives ſhould be proportioned to the value of property, and to the exact ratio of patriotiſm? Is it not abſurd that a poor hamlet, or a wretched village, ſhould depute as many or more members to the aſſembly of the Commons, as the moſt opulent city or diſtrict? What intereſt can theſe men take in the public felicity, which they ſcarce partake of? What facility will not bad miniſters find in their indigence to bribe them; and to obtain, by money, that majority they ſtand in need of. O, ſhame! The rich man purchaſes the ſuffrages of his conſtituents, to obtain the honour of repreſenting them; and the court buys the vote of the repreſentative, in order to govern with more deſpotic ſway. Would not a prudent nation endeavour to prevent both the one and the other of theſe corruptions? Is it not ſurpriſing that this hath not been done upon the day, when a repreſentative had the impudence to make his conſtituents wait in his antichamber, and afterwards to ſay to them: *I know not what you want, but I will only act as I think proper; I have bought you very dear, and I am reſolved to ſell you as dear as I can:* Or even upon that day, when the miniſter boaſted of having in his pocket-book the rates of every man's probity in England?

Is there nothing to object againſt the effort of theſe three powers, acting perpetually one upon the other, and tending inceſſantly to an equilibrium which they will never obtain? This ſtruggle, is it not ſomewhat ſimilar to a continual anarchy? Doth it not endanger commotions, in which, from one moment to another, the blood of the citizens may be ſpilt, without our being able to foreſee whether the advantage will remain on the ſide of tyranny or on that of liberty? And if all circumſtances be well weighed, would not a nation leſs independent and more quiet be happy?

Theſe defects, and others added to them, will they not one day bring on the decline of the government? This is a circumſtance we cannot decide; but we are

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convinced it would be a great misfortune for the nations, ſince they all owe to it a milder deſtiny than that which they before enjoyed. The example of a free, rich, magnanimous, and happy people, in the midſt of Europe, hath engaged the attention of all men. The principles from which many benefits have been derived, have been adopted, diſcuſſed, and preſented to the monarchs, and to their delegates; who, to avoid being accuſed of tyranny, have been obliged to adopt them, with more or leſs modification. The ancient maxims would ſoon be revived, if there did not exiſt, as it were, in the midſt of us, a perpetual tribunal, which demonſtrated the depravity and abſurdity of them.

But, if the enjoyments of luxury ſhould happen totally to pervert the morals of the nation; if the love of pleaſure ſhould ſoften the courage of the commanders and officers of the fleets and armies; if the intoxication of temporary ſucceſſes, if vain ideas of falſe greatneſs, ſhould excite the nation to enterpriſes above their ſtrength; if they ſhould be deceived in the choice of their enemies, or their allies; if they ſhould loſe their colonies, either by making them too extenſive, or by laying reſtraints upon them; if their love of patriotiſm be not exalted to the love of humanity; they will, ſooner or later, be enſlaved, and return to that kind of inſignificancy from whence they emerged only through torrents of blood, and through the calamities of two ages of fanaticiſm and war. They will become like other nations whom they deſpiſe, and Europe will not be able to ſhow the univerſe one nation in which ſhe can venture to pride herſelf. Deſpotiſm, which always oppreſſes moſt heavily minds that are ſubdued and degraded, will alone riſe ſuperior amidſt the ruin of arts, of morals, of reaſon, and of liberty.

The hiſtory of the United Provinces is replete with very ſingular events. Their combination aroſe from deſpair, and almoſt all Europe encouraged their eſtabliſhment. They had but juſt triumphed over the long

and powerful efforts of the court of Spain to reduce them to ſubjection, when they were obliged to try their ſtrength againſt the Britons, and diſconcerted the ſchemes of France. They afterwards gave a king to England, and deprived Spain of the provinces ſhe poſſeſſed in Italy and the Low Countries, to give them to Auſtria. Since that period, Holland has been diſguſted of ſuch a ſyſtem of politics, as would engage her in war; ſhe attends ſolely to the preſervation of her conſtitution, but, perhaps, not with ſufficient zeal, care, and integrity. BOOK XIX.

The conſtitution of Holland, though previouſly modelled on a plan that was the reſult of reflection, is not leſs defective than thoſe which have been formed by chance. One of its principal defects is, that the ſovereignty is too much divided.

It is a miſtake to ſuppoſe that the authority reſides in the States General fixed at the Hague. The fact is, that the power of the members who compoſe this aſſembly conſiſts only in deciding upon matters of form, or police. In alliances, peace, war, new taxes, or any other important matter, each of the deputies muſt receive the orders of his province; which is itſelf obliged to obtain the conſent of the cities. The conſequence of this complicated order of things is, that the reſolutions, which would require the greateſt ſecrecy and celerity, are neceſſarily tardy and public.

It ſeems, that in an union contracted between this number of ſtates, independent of each other, and connected only by their common intereſt, each of them ought to have had an influence proportioned to its extent, to its population, and to its riches: but this fortunate baſis, which enlightened reaſon ought to have founded, is not adopted by the confederate body. The province which bears more than half of the public expences hath no more votes than that which contributes only one hundredth part of them; and in that province, a petty town, uninhabited and unknown, hath legally the ſame weight as this unparalleled city,

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the activity and induſtry of which are a ſubject of aſtoniſhment and of jealouſy to all nations.

The unanimity of the towns and provinces, which is required for all important reſolutions, is not a meaſure of more judicious policy. If the moſt conſiderable members of the republic ſhould reſolve to act without the concurrence of the leſs important branches, this would be a manifeſt infringement of the principles of the union; and if they ſhould lay a great ſtreſs upon obtaining their ſuffrages, they will not ſucceed without much ſolicitation or conceſſions. Whichever of theſe two expedients have been adopted, when the parties have differed, the harmony of the United States hath uſually been diſturbed, and frequently in a violent and permanent manner.

The imperfections of ſuch a conſtitution did not, in all probability, eſcape the Prince of Orange, the founder of this republic. If this great man permitted that they ſhould ſerve as a baſis to the government which was eſtabliſhing, it was undoubtedly in hopes that they would render the election of a Stadtholder neceſſary, and that this ſupreme magiſtrate would always be choſen in his family. This view of a profound ambition hath not always been attended with ſucceſs; and this ſingular magiſtracy, which united to the abſolute diſpoſal of the land and ſea forces ſeveral other important prerogatives, hath been twice aboliſhed.

At theſe periods, which are remarkable in the hiſtory of a ſtate, unparalleled in the annals of the Old and of the New World, great changes have been produced. The authors of the revolution have boldly divided all the authority among themſelves. An intolerable tyranny hath been every where eſtabliſhed, with more or leſs effrontery. Under pretence that the general aſſemblies were tumultuous, fatiguing, and dangerous, the people have no longer been called in to elect the depoſitaries of the public authority. The burgomaſters have choſen their ſheriffs, and have ſeized upon the finances, of which they gave no account, but to their equals or conſtituents. The ſenators have

arrogated to themſelves the right of completing their own body. Thus the magiſtracy hath been confined to a few families, who have aſſumed an almoſt excluſive right of deputation to the States General. Each province and each town have been at the diſpoſal of a ſmall number of citizens, who, dividing the rights and the ſpoils of the people, have had the art of eluding their complaints, or of preventing the effects of any extraordinary diſcontent. The government is become almoſt ariſtocratic. Had the reformation been extended only to what was defective in the conſtitution, the Houſe of Orange might have apprehended that they ſhould no more be reinſtated in that degree of ſplendour from which they had fallen. A leſs diſintereſted conduct hath occaſioned the reſtoration of the ſtadtholderſhip; and it hath been made hereditary, even in the female line. BOOK XIX.

But will this dignity become in time an inſtrument of oppreſſion? Enlightened men do not think it poſſible. Rome, ſay they, is always quoted as an example to all our free ſtates, that have no circumſtance in common with it. If the dictator became the oppreſſor of that republic, it was in conſequence of its having oppreſſed all other nations; it was becauſe its power, having been originally founded by war, muſt neceſſarily be deſtroyed by it; and becauſe a nation compoſed of ſoldiers could not eſcape the deſpotiſm of a military government. However improbable it may appear, it is yet certain, that the Roman republic ſubmitted to the yoke, becauſe it paid no taxes. The conquered people were the only tributaries to the treaſury. The public revenues, therefore, neceſſarily remaining the ſame after the revolution as before, property did not appear to be attacked; and the citizen thought he ſhould be ſtill free enough, while he had the diſpoſal of his own.

Holland, on the contrary, will maintain its liberty, becauſe it is ſubject to very conſiderable taxes. The Dutch cannot preſerve their country without great expences. The ſenſe of their independence alone excites

BOOK XIX. an induſtry proportionable to the load of their contributions, and to the patience neceſſary to ſupport the burden of them. If to the enormous expences of the ſtate it were neceſſary to add thoſe which the pomp of a court requires; if the prince were to employ in maintaining the agents of tyranny what ought to be beſtowed on the foundations of a land obtained, as it were, from the ſea, he would ſoon drive the people to deſpair.

The inhabitant of Holland, placed upon a mountain, and who obſerves at a diſtance the ſea riſing eighteen or twenty feet above the level of the lands, and daſhing its waves againſt the dykes he has raiſed, conſiders within himſelf, that ſooner or later this boiſterous element will get the better of him. He diſdains ſo precarious a dwelling; and his houſe, made either of wood or ſtone at Amſterdam, is no longer looked upon as ſuch: it is his ſhip that is his aſylum; and by degrees he acquires an indifference and manners conformable to this idea. The water is to him what the vicinity of volcanos is to other people.

If to theſe natural cauſes of the decay of a patriotic ſpirit were joined the loſs of liberty, the Dutch would quit a country that cannot be cultivated but by men who are free; and theſe people, ſo devoted to trade, would carry their ſpirit of commerce, together with their riches, to ſome other part of the globe. Their iſlands in Aſia, their factories in Africa, their colonies in America, and all the ports in Europe, would afford them an aſylum. What ſtadtholder, what prince, revered by ſuch a people, would wiſh, or dare, to become their tyrant?

A ſenſeleſs, ambitious man, or a ferocious warrior, might poſſibly attempt it. But among thoſe who are deſtined to govern the nation, are ſuch men rarely to be found. Every thing ſeems to conſpire in exciting the greateſt apprehenſions in the republic upon this important point. There are ſcarce any natives on board their fleets, except a few officers. Their armies are compoſed of, recruited, and commanded by ſo-

reigners, devoted to a chief, who, according to their ideas, can never arm them againſt people to whom they are attached by no tie. The fortreſſes of the ſtate are all governed by generals who acknowledge no other laws beſide thoſe of the prince. Courtiers degraded in their characters, overwhelmed with debts, deſtitute of virtue, and intereſted in the ſubverſion of the eſtabliſhed order, are perpetually raiſed to the moſt important poſts. It is by favour, that a ſet of commanders, devoid of ſhame and of ability, have been placed, and are maintained in the colonies; men who, either from motives of gratitude or of cupidity, are inclined to accompliſh the ſlavery of thoſe diſtant regions. BOOK XIX.

Againſt ſo many dangers, of what avail can be the general lethargy, the thirſt of riches, the taſte for luxury, which begins to inſinuate itſelf, the ſpirit of trade, and the perpetual condeſcenſions ſhown for an hereditary authority? According to every probability, the United Provinces, without effuſion of blood, and without commotion, muſt inſenſibly fall under the yoke of a monarchy. As the ſpirit of deſpotiſm, or the deſire of meeting with no oppoſition to our wiſhes, is inherent in the mind of every man in a greater or leſs degree, ſome ſtadtholder may ariſe, and perhaps ſoon, who, regardleſs of the fatal conſequences of his enterpriſe, will enſlave the nation. It concerns the Dutch attentively to conſider theſe obſervations.

The Roman empire was ſhaking on all ſides, when the Germans entered into Gaul, under the guidance of a chief whom they had choſen themſelves, and to whom they were rather companions than ſubjects. This was not an army, the ambition of which was limited to the ſeizing of ſome fortified places; it was the irruption of a people in ſearch of a ſettlement. As they attacked none but ſlaves, diſſatisfied with their fate, or maſters enervated by the luxuries of a long peace, they met with no very obſtinate reſiſtance. The conquerors appropriated to themſelves the lands

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which ſuited them, and ſeparated ſoon after, in order to enjoy their fortune in peace.

The diviſion was not the work of blind chance. The poſſeſſions were ſettled by the general aſſembly, and they were enjoyed under its authority. They were granted at firſt for no more than one year; but this period was gradually prolonged, and was at laſt extended to the life of the poſſeſſor. Matters were carried ſtill further, when the ſprings of government became entirely relaxed; and under the feeble deſcendants of Charlemagne, hereditary poſſeſſion was almoſt generally eſtabliſhed. This uſurpation was conſecrated by a ſolemn convention, at the acceſſion of Hugo Capet to the throne; and at that period the feudal tenure, that moſt deſtructive of all rights, prevailed in all its force.

France was then no more than an aſſemblage of petty ſovereignties, ſituated near each other, but without having any connection. In this ſtate of anarchy, the lords, entirely independent of the apparent chief of the nation, oppreſſed their ſubjects, or their ſlaves, at pleaſure. If the monarch intereſted himſelf in the fate of theſe unhappy people, they declared war againſt him; and if theſe people themſelves ſometimes ventured to appeal to the rights of mankind, the conſequence was, that the chains with which they were cruſhed became ſtill more oppreſſive.

In the meanwhile, the extinction of ſome powerful houſes, together with various treaties and conqueſts, were ſucceſſively adding to the royal domain territories of greater or leſs extent. This acquiſition of ſeveral provinces gave to the crown a maſs of power, which imparted to it ſome degree of energy. A perpetual conteſt between the kings and the nobles, an alternate ſuperiority of the power of one ſingle perſon, or of ſeveral; ſuch was the kind of anarchy that laſted, almoſt without interruption, till about the middle of the fifteenth century.

The character of the French was then changed by

a train of events which had altered the form of government. The war which the Engliſh, in conjunction with, or under the direction of, the Normans, had inceſſantly carried on againſt France for two or three hundred years paſt, ſpread a general alarm, and occaſioned great ravages. The triumphs of the enemy, the tyranny of the great, all conſpired to make the nation wiſh that the prince might be inveſted with power ſufficient to expel foreigners out of the kingdom, and to keep the nobles in ſubjection. While princes, diſtinguiſhed by their wiſdom and bravery, were endeavouring to accompliſh this great work, a new generation aroſe. Every individual, when the general alarm was paſt, thought himſelf happy enough in the privileges his anceſtors had enjoyed. They neglected to trace the ſource of the power of kings, which was derived from the nation; and Lewis XI. having few obſtacles to ſurmount, became more powerful than his predeceſſors. BOOK XIX.

Before his time, the hiſtory of France preſents us with an account of a variety of ſtates, ſometimes divided and ſometimes united. Since that prince's reign, it is the hiſtory of a great monarchy. The power of ſeveral tyrants is centered in one perſon. The people are not more free; but the conſtitution is different. Peace is enjoyed with greater ſecurity within, and war carried on with more vigour without.

Civil wars, which tend to make a free people become ſlaves, and to reſtore liberty to a nation that is already enſlaved, have had no other effect in France than that of humbling the great, without exalting the people. The miniſters, who will always be the creatures of the prince, while the general ſenſe of the nation has no influence in affairs of government, have ſold their fellow-citizens to their maſter; and as the people, who were poſſeſſed of nothing, could not be loſers by this ſervitude, the kings have found it the more eaſy to carry their deſigns into execution, eſpecially as they were always concealed under pretence of political advantage, and even of alleviating the bur-

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den of the people. The jealouſy excited by a great inequality of conditions and fortunes, hath favoured every ſcheme that tended to aggrandize the regal authority. The princes have had the art to engage the attention of the people, ſometimes by wars abroad, ſometimes by religious diſputes at home; to ſuffer the minds of men to be divided by opinions, and their hearts by different intereſts; to excite and keep up jealouſies between the ſeveral ranks of the ſtate; to flatter alternately each party with an appearance of favour, and to ſatisfy the natural envy of the people by the depreſſion of them all. The multitude, reduced to poverty, and become the objects of contempt, having ſeen all-powerful bodies brought low one after another, have at leaſt loved in their monarch the enemy of their enemies.

The nation, though by inadvertency it has loſt the privilege of governing itſelf, has not, however, ſubmitted to all the outrages of deſpotiſm. This ariſes from the loſs of its liberty not having been the effect of a tumultuous and ſudden revolution, but gradually brought about in a ſucceſſion of ſeveral ages. The national character which hath always influenced the princes as well as the court, if it were only by means of the women, hath eſtabliſhed a ſort of balance of power; and thus it is that polite manners having tempered the exertion of force, and ſoftened the oppoſition that might be made to it, have prevented thoſe ſudden and violent commotions, from whence reſults either monarchical tyranny or popular liberty.

Inconſiſtence, as natural to the minds of a gay and lively people as it is to children, hath fortunately prevailed over the ſyſtems of ſome deſpotic miniſters. Kings have been too fond of pleaſure, and too converſant with the real ſource of it, not to be induced frequently to lay aſide the iron ſceptre, which would have terrified the people, and prevented them from indulging in thoſe frivolous amuſements to which they were addicted. The ſpirit of intrigue, which hath ever prevailed among them, ſince the nobles have been in-

vited to court, hath occaſioned continual removals of ſtateſmen, and conſequently ſubverted all their projects. As the change in government has been imperceptibly brought about, the ſubjects have preſerved a kind of dignity, which the monarch himſelf ſeemed to reſpect, conſidering it as the ſource or conſequence of his own. He has continued the ſupreme legiſlator for a long time, without being either willing or able to abuſe his whole power. Kept in awe by the bare idea only of the fundamental laws of the nation he governed, he has frequently been afraid to act contrary to the principles of them. He has been ſenſible that the people had right to oppoſe to him. In a word, there has been no tyrant, even at a time when there was no liberty. BOOK XIX.

Such, and ſtill more arbitrary, have been the governments of Spain and Portugal, of Naples and Piedmont, and of the ſeveral ſmall principalities of Italy. The people of the ſouth, whether from inactivity of mind or weakneſs of body, ſeem to be born for deſpotiſm. The Spaniards, though they are extremely proud, and the Italians, notwithſtanding all the powers of genius they poſſeſs, have loſt all their rights, and every idea of liberty. Wherever the monarchy is unlimited, it is impoſſible to aſcertain, with any degree of preciſion, what the form of government is, ſince that varies, not only with the character of each ſovereign, but even at every period of the ſame prince's life. Theſe ſtates have written laws and cuſtoms, and ſocieties that enjoy certain privileges; but when the legiſlator can ſubvert the laws and tribunals of juſtice; when his authority is founded only on ſuperior ſtrength, and when he calls upon God with a view to inſpire his ſubjects with fear, inſtead of imitating him in order to become an object of affection; when the original right of ſociety, the unalienable right of property among citizens, when national conventions and the engagements of the prince are in vain appealed to; in a word, when the government is arbitrary, there

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is no longer any ſtate; the nation is no more than the landed property of one ſingle individual.

In ſuch countries, no ſtateſmen will ever be formed. Far from its being a duty to be acquainted with public affairs, it is rather criminal and dangerous to have any knowledge of the adminiſtration. The favour of the court, the choice of the prince, ſupply the place of talents. Talents, it is true, have their uſe; and are ſometimes of uſe to ſerve the deſigns of others, but never to command. In theſe countries, the people ſubmit to the government their ſuperiors impoſe, provided only they are indulged in their natural indolence. There is only one ſyſtem of legiſlation in theſe delightful regions of Europe that merits our attention, which is the republic of Venice. Three great phenomena make this ſtate remarkable; theſe are, its firſt foundation, its power at the time of the cruſades, and its preſent form of adminiſtration.

A great, magnificent, and rich city, impregnable, though without walls or fortifications, rules over ſeventy-two iſlands. They are not rocks and mountains raiſed by time in the midſt of a vaſt ſea, but rather a plain, parcelled out and cut into channels by the ſtagnations of a ſmall gulf, upon the ſlope of a low land. Theſe iſlands, ſeparated by canals, are at preſent joined by bridges. They have been formed by the ravages of the ſea, and the ravages of war have occaſioned them to be peopled towards the middle of the fifth century. The inhabitants of Italy, flying from Attila, ſought an aſylum on the ſea.

The Venetian Lagunes at firſt neither made a part of the ſame city, nor of the ſame republic. United by one general commercial intereſt, or rather by the neceſſity of defending themſelves, they were, however, divided into as many ſeparate governments as iſlands, each ſubject to its reſpective tribune.

From the plurality of chiefs contentions aroſe, and the public good was conſequently ſacrificed. Theſe people, therefore, in order to conſtitute one body,

choſe a prince, who, under the title of Duke or Doge, enjoyed for a conſiderable time all the rights of ſovereignty, of which he only now retains the ſigns. Theſe Doges were elected by the people till 1173: at that period the nobles arrogated to themſelves the excluſive privilege of appointing the chief of the republic; they ſeized upon the authority, and formed an ariſtocracy.

Thoſe political writers who have given the preference to this kind of government, have ſaid, with ſome ſhow of reaſon, that all ſocieties, in whatever way they may have been formed, have been governed in this manner. If in democratic ſtates the people were to ſettle their adminiſtration themſelves, they would neceſſarily fall into extravagances; and they are therefore obliged, for their own preſervation, to ſubmit to a ſenate, more or leſs numerous. If in monarchies kings pretended to ſee every thing with their own eyes, and to do every thing themſelves, nothing would either be ſeen or done; and it hath therefore been neceſſary to have recourſe to councils, to preſerve empires from a ſtagnation, more fatal, perhaps, than a ſtate of action ill conducted. Every thing, therefore, may be traced to the authority of many, and of a ſmall number; every thing is conducted according to the principles of ariſtocracy.

But in the monarchical form of government, command is not ſettled in one claſs of citizens, and obedience in the reſt; the road to honours and to employments is open to every one who hath the neceſſary talents to obtain them; the nobles are not every thing, and the people nothing. Subſtitute ariſtocracy to this form of government, and we ſhall find nothing but ſlavery and deſpotiſm.

Venice, in its origin, tempered as much as poſſible the defects of this odious and unjuſt government. The ſeveral branches of power were diſtributed and balanced with remarkable accuracy. Prudent and ſevere laws were enacted, to ſuppreſs and ſtrike awe into the ambition of the nobles. The great reigned without

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diſturbance, and with a kind of equality, as the ſtars ſhine in the firmament amidſt the ſilence of the night. They were obliged outwardly to conform to the cuſtoms of the ſeveral orders of the republic, in order that the diſtinction between patricians and plebeians might become leſs odious. The hope even of ſharing, in proceſs of time, the rights of ſovereignty, was extended to thoſe who from rank were excluded from it, if by their ſervices and their induſtry they ſhould one day acquire conſideration and riches.

This was the only regular form of government then exiſting in Europe. Such an advantage raiſed the Venetians to great opulence, enabled them to keep armies in their pay, and imparted to them that knowledge which made them a political people, before any of the reſt were. They reigned over the ſeas; they had a manifeſt prepondefance in the continent; they formed or diſſipated leagues, according as it ſuited their intereſt.

When the commerce of the republic was ruined by the diſcovery of the New World, and of the paſſage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, it was deprived of every advantage which had given it grandeur, ſtrength, and courage. To thoſe illuſions, which in ſome meaſure conſole the ſubjects for the loſs of their liberty, were ſubſtituted the ſeduction of voluptuouſneſs, pleaſures, and effeminacy. The great grew corrupt as well as the people, the women as well as the men, the prieſts as well as the laymen, and licentiouſneſs knew no bounds. Venice became the country upon the earth where there were fewer factitious vices and virtues.

In proportion as the minds, the diſpoſitions, and the power of man became enervated within, it was a neceſſary conſequence that leſs vigour and leſs exertion ſhould ſhow itſelf without. Accordingly the republic fell into the moſt puſillanimous circumſpection. They aſſumed and added ſtill more to the national character of Italy, which is jealouſy and miſtruſt. With one half of the treaſures and care which it hath coſt them to

maintain that neutrality they have obſerved for two centuries paſt, they would perhaps have freed themſelves for ever from the dangers to which their very precautions have expoſed them.

The republic doth not appear to be in a ſtate of tranquillity, notwithſtanding all the cares that have been taken for its ſecurity. Its anxiety is manifeſted by the principles of its government, which become conſtantly more ſevere by the extreme horror of every thing that is in the leaſt elevated; by the averſion which it ſhows for reaſon, the uſe of which it conſiders as a crime; by the myſterious and dark veils with which it conceals its operations; by the precaution which it conſtantly takes to place foreign commanders at the head of its feeble troops, and to appoint inſpectors over them; by the forbidding, indiſcriminately, all thoſe who are its ſubjects, to go and inure themſelves to war in the field of battle; by its informers; by all the refinements of inſidious policy; and by various other means which diſcover continual apprehenſions and alarms. It ſeems to place its chief confidence in an inquiſitor, who is continually prying about amongſt individuals, with the axe raiſed over the head of any one who ſhall venture to diſturb public order by his actions or by his diſcourſes.

Every thing, however, is not cenſurable in Venice. The impoſt which ſupplies the treaſury with 25,000,000 of livres [1,041,666l. 13s. 4d.], hath neither increaſed nor diminiſhed ſince the year 1707. Every method is taken to conceal from the citizens the idea of their ſlavery, and to make them eaſy and cheerful. The form of worſhip is replete with ceremonies. There are no great feſtivals without public ſpectacles and muſic. One may ſay and do what one chooſes at Venice, if one does not ſpeak in public either of politics or of religion. A Chriſtian orator preaching before the chiefs of the republic, imagined that he ought to begin his diſcourſe with an eulogium of the government; immediately a ſatellite was diſpatched to take him out of his pulpit; and being the next day ſum-

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moned to appear before the tribunal of the ſtate inquiſitors, he was told, *What need have we of your encomiums? Be more cautious.* They were well aware that an adminiſtration is ſoon cenſured in every place where it is allowed to be extolled. The ſtate inquiſitors do not retain their functions longer than eighteen months. They are choſen from among the moſt moderate perſons, and the leaſt act of injuſtice is followed by their depoſition. They addreſs all men in the familiar mode of the ſecond perſon, and would even adopt it in ſpeaking to the doge. Any perſon who is ſummoned before them is obliged to appear without delay. A ſecretary of ſtate was not excuſed by alleging the neceſſity of finiſhing his diſpatches. It is true that the doors are ſhut while cauſes are trying; but theſe cauſes of alarm to foreigners are the real protection of the people, and the counterpoiſe to the tyranny of the ariſtocratic body. About ſix years ago it was deliberated in council whether this formidable tribunal ſhould not be aboliſhed; and immediately the moſt wealthy citizens were preparing to withdraw themſelves; and a neighbouring king foretold that Venice would not exiſt ten years longer after the ſuppreſſion of this magiſtracy. Accordingly, were it not for the terror with which it inſpires the citizens, they would be inceſſantly expoſed to vexations from a number of patricians who languiſh in indigence. After ſome violent conteſts, the inquiſition was confirmed by a majority of votes, and the four perſons who had moved the debate were puniſhed only by aſſigning to them honourable employments, which kept them at a diſtance from the republic.

During the carnival, monks and prieſts go to the public diverſions in maſks. It is well known, that a degraded eccleſiaſtic can have no influence. A patrician, who is become either monk or prieſt, is no more than a common citizen. The horror of executions is kept up by the unfrequency of them. The people are perſuaded that the devils are flying about the gibbet to ſeize upon the ſouls of the perſons executed. A

capuchin friar once thought of saying, that *of a hundred drowned perſons no one would be ſaved, and that of a hundred perſons executed on the gallows not one would be damned.* As it was of conſequence to the Venetians that one ſhould not fear being drowned, but that one ſhould fear being hanged, the preacher had orders to teach the contrary, notwithſtanding the authority of St. Auſtin.

If the naval forces of the Venetians are commanded by a patrician alone, it is only ſince the celebrated Moroſini, admiral of their fleet at the expedition of the Peloponneſus, told them, that it had been in his power to ſtarve them. If the land forces can only be commanded by a foreign general, it is from the juſt apprehenſion, that a citizen might take advantage of the affection of the ſoldiers to become the tyrant of his country.

There are a multitude of magiſtrates placed at the head of different affairs, which muſt accelerate the diſpatch of them. The doge may ſolicit and obtain favours, but he cannot grant any. There are preſervers of the laws, to whom the new regulations propoſed by the ſenate to the council are referred. They examine them and make their reports to the council, who decide accordingly. The council therefore repreſents the republic, the ſenate the legiſlative body ſubordinate to the council, and the ſtate inquiſitor is a kind of tribune to protect the people.

An inquiſitor is not, in my opinion, a very tremendous perſon, ſince it is poſſible to puniſh him when he becomes inſolent. There is no ſuch thing to be found in France as a ſheriff's officer, who would venture to deliver a ſummons to a magiſtrate of a ſuperior order. At Venice a legal proceeding may be carried on againſt either a patrician or an inquiſitor. Their goods may be ſold, their perſons ſeized, and they may be thrown into priſon.

The Venetian miniſtry have obſcure agents in all the courts, by whom they are informed of the character of the men in favour, and the means of ſedu-

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cing them; they ſupport themſelves by their cunning. There is another republic which derives its ſtrength, and ſupports itſelf by its form and its courage, and that is Switzerland.

The Switzers, known in antiquity by the name of Helvetians, were, as the Gauls and the Britons, only to be ſubdued by Cæſar, who was the greateſt of the Romans, if he had been more attached to his country. They were united to Germany, as a Roman province, under the reign of Honorius. Revolutions, which are frequent and eaſily accompliſhed in ſuch a country as the Alps, divided colonies, that were ſeparated by large lakes or great mountains, into ſeveral baronies. The moſt conſiderable of theſe occupied by the Houſe of Auſtria, in proceſs of time ſeized upon all the reſt. Conqueſt introduced ſlavery, oppreſſion excited the people to revolt, and thus liberty aroſe from an unbounded exertion of tyranny.

There are now thirteen cantons of robuſt peaſants, who defend almoſt all the kings of Europe, and fear none; who are better acquainted with their real intereſts than any other nation; and who conſtitute the moſt ſenſible people in all modern political ſtates. Theſe thirteen cantons compoſe among themſelves, not a republic as the ſeven provinces of Holland, nor a ſimple confederacy as the Germanic body, but rather a league, a natural aſſociation of ſo many independent republics. Each canton has its reſpective ſovereignty, its alliancies, and its treaties ſeparate. The general diet cannot make laws or regulations for either of them.

The three moſt ancient cantons are immediately connected with each of the others. It is from this union of convenience, not of conſtitution, that if one of the thirteen cantons were attacked, all the reſt would march to its aſſiſtance. But there is no common alliance between the whole body and each particular canton. Thus the branches of a tree are united among themſelves, without having an immediate connection with the common trunk.

The union of the Switzers was, however, indiſſoluble till the beginning of the 16th century; when religion, which ought to be the bond of peace and charity, diſunited them. The reformation cauſed a ſeparation of the Helvetic body, and the ſtate was divided by the church. All public affairs are tranſacted in the ſeparate and particular diets of the Catholic and Proteſtant parties. The general diets are aſſembled only to preſerve the appearance of union. Notwithſtanding this ſource of diſcord, Switzerland has enjoyed peace much more than any ſtate in Europe.

Under the Auſtrian government, oppreſſion and the raiſing of troops impeded population. After the revolution, there was too great an increaſe of the number of people in proportion to the barrenneſs of the land. The Helvetic body could not be enlarged without endangering its ſafety, unleſs it made ſome excurſions abroad. The inhabitants of theſe mountains, as the torrents that pour down from them, were to ſpread themſelves in the plains that border upon the Alps. Theſe people would have deſtroyed each other, had they remained ſequeſtered among themſelves. But ignorance of the arts, the want of materials for manufactures, and the deficiency of money, prevented the importation of foreign merchandiſe, and excluded them from the means of procuring the comforts of life, and of encouraging induſtry. They drew even from their increaſe of numbers, a method of ſubſiſting and acquiring riches, a ſource and an object of trade.

The duke of Milan, maſter of a rich country open on every ſide to invaſion, and not eaſily defended, was in want of ſoldiers. The Switzers, who were his moſt powerful neighbours, muſt neceſſarily become his enemies, if they were not his allies, or rather his protectors. A kind of traffic was therefore ſet on foot between theſe people and the Milaneſe, in which men were bartered for riches. The nation engaged troops ſucceſſively in the ſervice of France, of the emperor, of the pope, of the duke of Savoy, and all the potentates of Italy. They ſold their blood to the moſt di-

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ſtant powers, and to the nations moſt in enmity with each other; to Holland, to Spain, and to Portugal; as if theſe mountains were nothing more than a repoſitory of arms and ſoldiers, open to every one who wanted to purchaſe the means of carrying on war.

Each canton treats with that power which offers the moſt advantageous terms. The ſubjects of the country are at liberty to engage in war at a diſtance, with an allied nation. The Hollander is, by the conſtitution of his country, a citizen of the world; the Switzer, by the ſame circumſtance, a deſtroyer of Europe. The profits of Holland are in proportion to the degree of cultivation, and the conſumption of merchandiſe; the proſperity of Switzerland increaſes in proportion to the number of battles that are fought, and the ſlaughter that attends them.

It is by war, that calamity inſeparable from mankind, whether in a ſtate of civilization or not, that the republics of the Helvetic body are obliged to live and ſubſiſt. It is by this that they preſerve a number of inhabitants within their country proportioned to the extent and fertility of their lands, without forcing any of the ſprings of government, or reſtraining the inclinations of any individual. It is by the traffic of troops with the powers at war with each other, that Switzerland has not been under the neceſſity of making ſudden emigrations, which are the cauſe of invaſions, and of attempting conqueſts, which would have occaſioned the loſs of its liberty, as it cauſed the ſubverſion of all the republics of Greece.

As far as human foreſight can penetrate into futurity, the ſtate of theſe people muſt be more permanent than that of all other nations, if differences in their form of worſhip do not become fatal to them. From the top of their barren mountains, they behold, groaning under the oppreſſion of tyranny, whole nations which nature hath placed in more plentiful countries, while they enjoy in peace the fruits of their labour, of their frugality, of their moderation, and of all the virtues that attend upon liberty. If it were poſ-

ſible that habit could blunt their ſenſibility for ſo mild a deſtiny, it would be inceſſantly revived in them by that multitude of travellers who reſort there to enjoy the ſight of that felicity which is not to be ſeen elſewhere. Undoubtedly, the love of riches hath ſomewhat altered that amiable ſimplicity of manners, in ſuch of the cantons where the arts and commerce have made any conſiderable progreſs; but the features of their primitive character are not entirely effaced, and they ſtill retain a kind of happineſs unknown to other men. Can it be apprehended that a nation may grow tired of ſuch an exiſtence?

The weight of taxes cannot alter the advantages of this deſtiny. Theſe ſcourges of the human race are unknown in moſt of the cantons, and in the reſt they amount to little or nothing. In ſome places only, a dangerous abuſe hath been introduced. Adminiſtrators, known under the title of bailiffs, take upon themſelves to impoſe in their own juriſdiction arbitrary fines, which they make uſe of for their own private benefit. This extravagance of the feudal laws cannot laſt, and every veſtige will ſoon be loſt of ſo odious a cuſtom, which in proceſs of time would affect the public felicity.

The nation will never be diſturbed by its propenſities, which naturally lead it to order, tranquillity, and harmony. If any turbulent or dangerous characters are to be found there, who may be fond of factions and tumults, they mix in foreign wars to endeavour to gratify this reſtleſs diſpoſition.

It is not poſſible that the ſeveral cantons ſhould attempt reciprocally to ſubdue each other. Thoſe in which democracy is eſtabliſhed, are too feeble to conceive ſo unreaſonable a project; and in the others, the patricians and plebeians will never unite their wiſhes and their exertions for an aggrandizement, the conſequences of which might become fatal to one of the orders.

The tranquillity of the Helvetic body is ſtill leſs in danger from their neighbours than from their citizens. As in the diſputes between crowned heads, the Swiſs

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obſerve a very impartial neutrality, and as they never become guarantees of any engagement, they are not known to have any enemies. If any power ſhould think it had a cauſe of complaint againſt them, it would ſtifle its reſentment from the well-grounded apprehenſion of miſcarrying in its projects of revenge againſt a country entirely military, and which reckons as many ſoldiers as men. If even it were certain of conquering them, they would never be attacked, becauſe the blindeſt and moſt violent policy doth not exterminate a people to take poſſeſſion of nothing but rocks. Such are the motives which induce us to believe in the ſtability of the republic of Switzerland.

It now remains that we ſpeak of the eccleſiaſtical government. If the foundation of Chriſtianity preſents us with a ſcene that aſtoniſhes the mind, the hiſtory of the revolutions in the government of the church is not leſs ſurpriſing. What an enormous difference is there between St. Peter, a poor fiſherman, on the borders of the lake of Genezareth, and ſervant of the ſervants of God; and ſome of his proud ſucceſſors, their brows girt with the triple crown, maſters of Rome, and of a great part of Italy, and calling themſelves the Kings of the Kings of the earth! Let us trace things up to their origin; and let us take a rapid view of the ſplendour and of the corruption of the church. Let us ſee what its government is become in the ſpace of eighteen centuries; and let preſent and future ſovereigns learn what they are to expect from the prieſthood, the ſole principle of which is to render the authority of the magiſtrates ſubordinate to the divine authority, of which it is the depoſitary.

In an obſcure village of Judea, and in the houſe of a poor carpenter, there aroſe a man of auſtere morals. His candour was diſguſted with the hypocriſy of the prieſts of his time. He had diſcovered the vanity of legal ceremonies, and the vice of expiations; at thirty years of age this virtuous perſon quitted his employment, and began to preach his opinions. The

multitude, from the villages and country places, flocked around him, liſtened to him, and followed him. He aſſociated to himſelf a ſmall number of diſciples, ignorant and weak men, taken from the loweſt conditions of life. He wandered for ſome time about the capital, and at length ventured to appear there. One of his own diſciples betrayed him, and the other denied him. He was taken up, accuſed of blaſphemy, and crucified between two thieves. After his death his diſciples appeared in the public places, and in the great cities, at Antioch, at Alexandria, and at Rome. They announced, both to barbarous and civilized people, at Athens and at Corinth, the reſurrection of their Maſter; and the belief of their doctrine, which ſeemed ſo contrary to reaſon, was univerſally adopted. In all parts corrupt men embraced a ſyſtem of morality, auſtere in its principles and unſociable in its councils. Perſecution aroſe; and the preachers, together with their converts, were impriſoned, ſcourged, and put to death. The more blood is ſpilt, the more doth the ſect extend itſelf. In leſs than three centuries, the temples of idolatry are ſubverted or abandoned; and notwithſtanding the hatred, hereſies, ſchiſms, and ſanguinary quarrels, which have torn Chriſtianity ſince its origin, even down to our latter times; yet there are ſcarce any altars remaining, except ſuch as are raiſed to the man God, who died upon a croſs.

It was no difficult matter to demonſtrate to the Pagans the abſurdity of their worſhip; and in all general, as well as particular diſputes, if we can prove that our adverſary is in the wrong, he immediately concludes that we are in the right. Providence, which tends to the accompliſhment of its deſigns by all ſorts of means, intended that this mode of reaſoning ſhould lead men into the way of ſalvation. The founder of Chriſtianity did not arrogate to himſelf any authority, either over the partners of his miſſion, or over his followers, or over his fellow-citizens. He reſpected the authority of Cæſar. When he ſaved the life of an adulterous woman, he took care not to attack the law

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In proportion as the new doctrine gained ground, a kind of hierarchy was inſtituted among its miniſters, conſiſting of biſhops, prieſts, acolytes, and ſacriſtans, or porters. The object of the adminiſtration itſelf, included doctrine, diſcipline, and morals. To confer ſacred orders, was the firſt act of the juriſdiction of the church. To ſet perſons free, or to bind them, and to appoint a ſpiritual and voluntary expiation for offences, was the ſecond. To excommunicate the rebellious ſinner, or the heretic, was the third; and the fourth, which is common to every aſſociation, was to inſtitute rules of diſcipline. Theſe rules, at firſt kept ſecret, and which were chiefly on the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, were made public, aſſemblies or councils were holden. The biſhops were the repreſentatives of the apoſtles; the reſt of the clergy were ſubordinate to them. Nothing was decided without the concurrence of the faithful; ſo that this was a true democracy. Civil matters were referred to the arbitration of the biſhops. The Chriſtians were blamed for having law-ſuits; and ſtill more for expoſing themſelves to be brought before the magiſtrate. It is pro-

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bable that property was in common, and that the biſhop diſpoſed of it at pleaſure.

Hitherto every thing was conducted without the interference of the ſecular power. But under Aurelian, the Chriſtians applied to the emperor for juſtice againſt Paul of Samoſata. Conſtantine baniſhed Arius, and condemned his writings to the flames; Theodoſius perſecuted Neſtorius; and theſe innovations fixed the period of the ſecond ſtate of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction: when it had now deviated from its primitive ſimplicity, and was become a mixture of ſpiritual power and coercive authority. The faithful, already extremely numerous, in the ſecond century, were diſtributed in different churches ſubject to the ſame adminiſtration. Among theſe churches, there were ſome more or leſs conſiderable; ſecular authority interfered in the election of biſhops, and the confuſion between theſe two powers increaſed. There were ſome poor and ſome rich among them, and this was the firſt origin of the ambition of the clergy. There were indigent believers among them all; and the biſhops became the diſpenſers of the alms: and this is the moſt ancient ſource of the corruption of the church.

What a rapid progreſs hath eccleſiaſtical authority made ſince the end of the third century! Proceedings are carried on before the biſhops; and they become the arbiters in civil matters. The judicial ſentence of the biſhop admits of no appeal; and the execution of it is referred to the magiſtrates. The trial of a prieſt cannot be carried out of the province. A diſtinction ariſes between civil and eccleſiaſtical crimes, and this gives birth to the privilege of the clergy. The appeal to the ſovereign is allowed, if it ſhould happen that the ſentence of the biſhop ſhould be invalidated at the tribunal of the magiſtrates. Long before theſe conceſſions, the biſhops had obtained the inſpection over the police and the morals; they took cognizance of proſtitutions, foundlings, guardianſhips, lunatics, and minors; they viſited the priſons; they ſolicited the enlargement of the priſoners; they denounced the negli-

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gent judges to the ſovereign; they interfered with the diſpoſal of the public money, with the conſtruction and repairing of the great roads, and other edifices. Thus it is, that, under pretence of aſſiſting each other, the two authorities were blended, and paved the way for the diſſenſions which were one day to ariſe between them. Such was in the firſt centuries, in the proſperous days of the church, the third ſtate of its government, HALF CIVIL, HALF ECCLESIASTICAL, to which, at preſent, we ſcarcely know what name to give. Was it from the weakneſs of the emperors, from their fear, from intrigue, or from ſanctity of manners, that the chiefs of Chriſtianity conciliated to themſelves ſo many important prerogatives? At that time religious terror had peopled the deſerts with anchorets, more than ſeventy-ſix thouſand of whom were reckoned: this was a nurſery of deacons, prieſts, and biſhops.

Conſtantine tranſferred the ſeat of empire to Byzantium. Rome was no more its capital. The Barbarians, who had taken it more than once, and ravaged it, were converted. It was the fate of Chriſtianity, which had conquered the gods of the Capitol, to ſubdue the deſtroyers of the throne of the Cæſars; but in changing their religion, theſe chiefs of hordes did not change their manners. What ſtrange kind of Chriſtians were Clovis and his ſucceſſors! exclaims the author of the hiſtory of the church. Notwithſtanding the analogy between the eccleſiaſtical and the feudal government, it would be an illuſion to make one the model of the other. Literature was no longer cultivated; and the prieſts employed the little knowledge they had preſerved, in forging titles, and in fabricating legends. The harmony between the two powers was diſturbed. The origin and the riches of the biſhops attached the Romans, who neither had, nor could have, any thing but contempt and averſion for their new maſters; ſome of whom were Pagans, others Heretics, and all of them ferocious. No man ever doubted of the donation of Conſtantine; and that of Pepin was confirmed by Charlemagne. The grandeur

of the biſhops of Rome increaſed under Lewis the Debonnaire, and under Otho. They arrogated that ſovereignty which their benefactors had reſerved for themſelves. Like other potentates, they founded their claim upon preſcription. The church was already infeſted with pernicious maxims; and the opinion, that the biſhop of Rome might depoſe kings, was univerſally adopted. Different cauſes afterwards concurred in eſtabliſhing the ſupremacy of this ſee over the reſt. The prince of the apoſtles had been the firſt biſhop of Rome. Rome was the centre of union between all the other churches, the indigence of which ſhe relieved. She had been the capital of the world; and the Chriſtians were not ſo numerous anywhere elſe. The title of pope was a title common to all biſhops, over whom the biſhop of Rome did not obtain the ſuperiority till the end of the eleventh century. At that time eccleſiaſtical government tended not only to MONARCHY, but had even advanced towards UNIVERSAL MONARCHY.

Towards the end of the eighth century, the famous decretals of Iſidorus of Seville appeared. The pope announced himſelf to be infallible. He withdrew himſelf from his former ſubmiſſion to the councils. He held in his hand two ſwords; one the emblem of his ſpiritual, the other of his temporal power. Diſcipline was no more. The prieſts were the ſlaves of the pope, and kings were his vaſſals. He required tributes from them; he aboliſhed the ancient judges, and appointed new ones. He created primates. The clergy were exempted from all civil juriſdiction; and Gratian the monk, by his decree, completed the miſchief occaſioned by the decretals. The clergy employed themſelves in augmenting their income by every poſſible mode. The poſſeſſion of their eſtates was declared immutable and ſacred. Men were terrified with temporal as well as ſpiritual threats. Tithes were exacted. A traffic was made of relics; and pilgrimages were encouraged. This completed the deſtruction of morality, and the laſt ſtroke was thus given to the diſcipline of the

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church. A criminal life was expiated by a wandering one. Events were conſtrued into the judgments of God; and deciſions by water, by fire, or by the deſtiny of the ſaints, were adopted. The folly of judiciary aſtrology was added to ſuperſtitious opinions. Such was the ſtate of the Weſtern church: AN ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM, with all its atrocious characters.

The Eaſtern church experienced alſo its calamities. The Grecian empire had been diſmembered by the Arabian Muſſulmen, by modern Scythians, by the Bulgarians, and by the Ruſſians. Theſe laſt were not amended by being waſhed with the waters of baptiſm. Mohammediſm deprived Chriſtianity of part of its followers, and threw the reſt into ſlavery. In the Weſt, the Barbarians, converted to Chriſtianity, had carried their manners along with them into the church. In the Eaſt, the Greeks had become depraved by their commercial intercourſe with a race of men perfectly ſimilar. Nevertheleſs, literature ſeemed to revive under the learned and vicious Photius. While the clergy of the Eaſt were ſtriving againſt ignorance, our clergy in the Weſt became hunters and warriors, and were poſſeſſed of lordſhips ſubject to military ſervice. Biſhops and monks marched under ſtandards, maſſacred, and were maſſacred. The privileges of their domains had engaged them in public affairs. They wandered about with the ambulatory courts; they aſſiſted at the national aſſemblies, which were become parliaments or councils; and this was the period of entire confuſion between the two powers. Then it was that the biſhops pretended openly to be the judges of ſovereigns; that Vamba was compelled to do penance, inveſted with a monk's habit, and depoſed; that the right of reigning was conteſted to Lewis the Debonnaire; that the popes interfered in the quarrels between nations, not as mediators, but as deſpots; that Adrian II. forbade Charles the Bald to invade the ſtates of his nephew Clotaire; and that Gregory IX. wrote to St. Lewis in theſe terms: *We have condemned Frederick II. who called himſelf Emperor, and have de-*

poſed him; and we have elected in his ſtead Count Robert, your brother.

But if the clergy encroached upon the rights of the temporal power, the lay lords appointed and inſtalled prieſts, without the participation of the biſhops; regular benefices were given to ſeculars, and the convents were pillaged. Neither incontinence nor ſimony excited any ſhame. Biſhopricks were ſold; abbeys purchaſed; prieſts had either a wife or a concubine; the public temples were forſaken; and this diſorder brought on the abuſe and contempt of cenſures, which were poured forth againſt kings, and againſt their ſubjects; and torrents of blood were ſhed in all countries. The church and the empire were then in a ſtate of ANARCHY. Pilgrimages were preludes to the cruſades, or the expiation for crimes and aſſaſſinations. Eccleſiaſtics of all orders, believers of all ranks, inliſted themſelves. Perſons loaded with debts were diſpenſed from paying them; malefactors eſcaped the purſuit of the laws; corrupt monks broke through the reſtraints of their ſolitude; diſſolute huſbands forſook their wives. Courtezans exerciſed their infamous trade at the foot of the ſepulchre of their God, and near to the tent of their ſovereign. But it was impoſſible to carry on this expedition, and the ſucceeding ones, without funds. An impoſt was levied, and this gave riſe to the claims of the pope upon all the eſtates of the church; to the inſtitution of a multitude of military orders; to the alternative given to the vanquiſhed, of ſlavery or of embracing Chriſtianity, of death or of baptiſm: and to conſole the reader for ſo many calamities, this circumſtance occaſioned the increaſe of navigation and commerce, which enriched Venice, Genoa, Piſa, and Florence; the decline of the feudal government, by the diſorder in the fortunes of the noblemen, and the habit of the ſea, which, perhaps, paved the way from afar for the diſcovery of the New World. But I have not the courage to purſue any further the account of the diſorders, and of the exorbitant increaſe of papal authority. Under Innocent III. there was no

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more than one tribunal in the world, and that was at Rome; there was but one maſter, and he was at Rome, from whence he reigned over Europe by his legates. The eccleſiaſtical hierarchy extended itſelf one ſtep further, by the creation of cardinals. Nothing was now wanting to the deſpot but Janizaries, whom he acquired by creating a multitude of monaſtic orders. Rome, formerly the miſtreſs of the world by arms, became ſo by opinion. But why did the popes, who were all-powerful over the minds of men, forget to maintain the terrors of their ſpiritual thunder, by directing it only againſt ambitious or unjuſt ſovereigns? Who knows whether this kind of tribunal, ſo much wiſhed for, to which crowned heads might be ſummoned, would not have exiſted to this day in Rome; and whether the threats of one common father, ſupported by general ſuperſtition, might not have put an end to every military conteſt?

The papal militia, compoſed of monks, who were laborious and auſtere in their origin, became corrupted. The biſhops, tired out with the enterpriſes of the legates, of the ſecular magiſtrates, and of the monks, over their juriſdiction, encroached, on their parts, upon the ſecular juriſdiction, with a degree of boldneſs of which it is difficult to form an idea. If the clergy could have determined to erect gibbets, perhaps we ſhould at preſent be under a government entirely ſacerdotal. It is the maxim, that *the church abhors the effuſion of blood*, which has preſerved us from it. There were ſchools in France and in Italy; and thoſe at Paris were famous towards the eleventh century. The number of colleges was increaſed; and, nevertheleſs, this ſtate of the church, which we have deſcribed without malice or exaggeration, was continued in all Chriſtian countries, from the ninth to the fourteenth century, an interval of four or five hundred years. The emperors have loſt Italy, and the popes have acquired a great temporal power. No one hath yet raiſed himſelf againſt their ſpiritual power. The intereſts of this ſovereign are embraced by all the Italians. The dig-

nity of epiſcopacy is eclipſed by that of cardinal, and the ſecular clergy were always ruled by the regular clergy. Venice alone hath known and defended its rights. The irruption of the Moors in Spain hath thrown Chriſtianity there into an abject ſtate, from which it hath ſcarce emerged for theſe two laſt centuries; and even down to our days, the inquiſition diſplays it under the moſt hideous aſpect:—the inquiſition, a terrible tribunal, a tribunal inſulting to the ſpirit of Jeſus Chriſt; a tribunal, which ought to be deteſted by ſovereigns, by biſhops, by magiſtrates, and by ſubjects: by ſovereigns, whom it ventures to threaten, and whom it hath ſometimes cruelly perſecuted; by biſhops, whoſe juriſdiction it annihilates; by the magiſtrates, whoſe legitimate authority it uſurps; by the ſubjects, whom it keeps in continual terror, whom it reduces to ſilence, and condemns to ſtupidity, from the danger that attends their acquiring inſtruction, their reading, their writing, and their ſpeaking: a tribunal which hath only owed its inſtitution, and which only owes its continuance, in thoſe regions where it is ſtill maintained, to a ſacrilegious policy, jealous of perpetuating prejudices and prerogatives, which could not have been diſcuſſed, without being diſpelled.

Before the ſchiſm of Henry VIII. England was ſubject to the pope, even in temporal concerns. London ſhook off the yoke of Rome; but this reformation was leſs the effect of reaſon than of paſſion. Germany hath been a continual ſcene of violence on both ſides; and ſince the time of Luther, the Catholics and Schiſmatics have ſhown themſelves equally enthuſiaſts in that country, the former for papal tyranny, the latter for independence. Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed in Poland, with all the claims of papal authority. In France the temporal power was conſidered as ſubordinate to the ſpiritual power. According to the ſentiment of the favourers of the Tramontane opinions, this kingdom, as well as all the kingdoms of the earth, was ſubject to the church of Rome; its princes might be excommunicated, and its ſubjects freed from the oath of alle-

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giance. But the papal coloſſus was ſhaken; and even ſince the fourteenth century it approached the inſtant of its downfal. Then literature was revived; the ancient languages were cultivated; the firſt Hebrew grammar was printed, and the Royal College was founded. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, the art of printing was invented. A multitude of writings of all kinds were drawn out of the duſt of monaſtic libraries, to be diffuſed among the people. The vulgar tongue was improved, and tranſlations were made. The ſovereign, and individuals, collected great libraries. The decrees of the councils, the fathers, and the holy ſcriptures, were read. The canon law was attended to, and the hiſtory of the church was inveſtigated. The ſpirit of criticiſm aroſe, and the apocryphal books were detected; while inſpired writings were reſtored to their original purity. The eyes of the ſovereigns and of the clergy were opened, and they were enlightened by religious diſputes. The origin of immunities, exemptions, and privileges, was traced; and the futility of them was demonſtrated. Ancient times were ſearched into, and their diſcipline compared to modern cuſtoms. The hierarchy of the church reſumed its influence, and the two powers withdrew into their reſpective limits. The deciſions of the church reſumed their efficacy; and if papal tyranny hath not been extinguiſhed in France, it is at leaſt confined within very narrow bounds. In 1681, the clergy of that kingdom decided, that temporal power was independent of ſpiritual power, and that the pope was ſubject to the canons of the church. If the miſſion of the prieſt be of divine right; if it belonged to him to ſet men free, and to encloſe them in bonds; can he not excommunicate the impenitent ſinner, or the heretic, whether he be a ſovereign or a private man? According to our principles, this is a power that cannot be denied to him: but prudent men perceived, in this violent proceeding, ſuch miſchievous conſequences, that they have declared it was ſcarce ever to be referred to. Doth excommunication involve the de-

poſition of the ſovereign, and diſengage the ſubjects from their oath of allegiance? It would be high-treaſon to ſuppoſe it. Hence we ſee, that the eccleſiaſtical government, at leaſt, in France, hath paſſed on, from the *tyranny of anarchy, to a kind of moderate ariſtocracy.*

But if I might be allowed to explain myſelf upon a matter ſo important, I ſhould venture to ſay, that neither in England, nor in the countries of Germany, of the United Provinces, and of the North, the true principles have been traced. Had they been better known, how much blood and how many troubles would they have ſpared, the blood of Pagans, Heretics, and Chriſtians, ſince the firſt origin of natural forms of worſhip to the preſent day; and how much would they ſpare in future, if the rulers of the earth were prudent and ſteady enough to conform to them?

It appears to me, that the ſtate is not made for religion, but religion for the ſtate: this is the firſt principle.

The general intereſt is the univerſal rule that ought to prevail in a ſtate: this is the ſecond principle.

The people, or the ſovereign authority, depoſitary of theirs, have alone the right to judge of the conformity of any inſtitution whatever with the general intereſt: this is the third principle.

Theſe three principles appear to me inconteſtibly evident; and the propoſitions that follow are no more than corollaries deduced from them.

It therefore belongs to this authority, and to this authority alone, to examine the tenets and the diſcipline of religion: the tenets, in order to aſcertain, whether, being contrary to common ſenſe, they will not expoſe the public tranquillity to commotions, ſo much the more dangerous, as the ideas of future happineſs will be complicated with zeal for the glory of God, and with ſubmiſſion to truths, which will be conſidered as revealed: the diſcipline, to obſerve whether it doth not claſh with the prevailing manners, extinguiſh the ſpirit of patriotiſm, damp the ardour of cou-

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rage, occaſion an averſion for induſtry, for marriage, and for public affairs; whether it be not injurious to population, and to the ſocial ſtate; whether it doth not inſpire fanaticiſm, and a ſpirit of intoleration; whether it doth not ſow the ſeeds of diviſion between the relations of the ſame family, between families of the ſame city, between the cities of the ſame kingdom, and between the ſeveral kingdoms of the earth; whether it doth not diminiſh the reſpect due to the ſovereign and the magiſtrates; and whether it doth not inculcate maxims ſo auſtere as to occaſion melancholy, or practices which lead on to extravagance.

This authority, and this authority alone, can therefore proſcribe the eſtabliſhed mode of worſhip, adopt a new one, or even aboliſh every form of worſhip, if it ſhould find it convenient. The general form of government being always ſettled at the firſt minute of its adoption, how is it poſſible that religion ſhould give the law by its antiquity?

The ſtate hath the ſupremacy in every thing. The diſtinction between a temporal and a ſpiritual power is a palpable abſurdity; and there neither can, nor ought to be, any more than one ſole and ſingle juriſdiction, wherever it belongs, to public utility alone, to order, or to defend.

For every offence whatever there ſhould be but one tribunal; for every guilty perſon but one priſon; for every illegal action but one law. Every contrary claim is injurious to the equality of the citizens; every poſſeſſion is an uſurpation of the claimant, at the expence of the common intereſt.

There ſhould be no other councils than the aſſembly of the miniſters of the ſovereign. When the adminiſtrators are aſſembled, the church is aſſembled. When the ſtate has pronounced, the church has nothing more to ſay.

There ſhould be no other canons, except the edicts of the princes, and the decrees of the courts of judicature.

What is a common offence, and a privileged offence,

where there is but one law, and one public matter, between the citizens?

Immunities, and other excluſive privileges, are ſo many acts of injuſtice, exerciſed againſt the other ranks of ſociety that are deprived of them.

A biſhop, a prieſt, or a member of the clerical body, may quit his country, if he chooſes it; but then he is nothing. It belongs to the ſtate to watch over his conduct, to appoint and to remove him.

If we underſtand by a benefice, any thing more than the ſalary every citizen ought to reap from his labour, this is an abuſe which requires a ſpeedy reformation. The man who doth nothing hath no right to eat.

And wherefore ſhould not the prieſt acquire, enrich himſelf, enjoy, ſell, buy, and make his will, as another citizen?

Let him be chaſte, docile, humble, and even indigent; let him not be fond of women, let him be of a meek diſpoſition, and let him prefer bread and water to all the conveniencies of life; but let him be forbidden to bind himſelf to theſe obſervances by vows. The vow of chaſtity is repugnant to nature and injurious to population; the vow of poverty is only that of a fooliſh or of an idle man; the vow of obedience to any other than to the ruling power, and to the law, is that of a ſlave or of a rebel.

If there exiſted, therefore, in any diſtrict of a country, ſixty thouſand citizens bound by ſuch vows, what could the ſovereign do better, than to repair to the ſpot, with a ſufficient number of ſatellites, armed with whips, and to ſay to them, Go forth, ye lazy wretches, go forth; go to the fields, to agriculture, to the manufactures, to the militia?

Charity is the common duty of all thoſe whoſe property exceeds their abſolute wants.

The relief of old men, and of indigent and old perſons, is the duty of the ſtate they have ſerved.

Let there be no other apoſtles but the legiſlator and the magiſtrates.

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Let there be no ſacred writings, except thoſe which they ſhall acknowledge as ſuch.

Let there be no divine right but the good of the republic.

I could extend theſe conſequences to many other objects; but I ſtop here, proteſting, that if in what I have ſaid there ſhould be any thing contrary to the good order of a well-regulated ſociety, and to the felicity of the citizens, I retract; although I can ſcarce perſuade myſelf that the nations can become enlightened, and not be ſenſible one day of the truth of my principles. As for the reſt, I forewarn my readers that I have ſpoken only of the external forms of religion. With reſpect to internal religion, man is only accountable for it to God. It is a ſecret between man and him, who hath taken him out of nothing, and can plunge him into it again.

If we now take a review of what has been ſaid, we ſhall find that all the governments of Europe are comprehended under ſome of the forms we have been deſcribing, and are differently modelled according to the local ſituation, the degree of population, the extent of territory, the influence of opinions and occupations, and the external connections and viciſſitudes of events that act upon the ſyſtem of the body politic, as the impreſſion of ſurrounding fluids does upon natural bodies.

We are not to imagine, as it is often aſſerted, that all governments nearly reſemble each other, and that the only difference between them conſiſts in the character of thoſe who govern. This maxim may, perhaps, be true in abſolute governments, among ſuch nations as have no principles of liberty. Theſe take the turn the prince gives them; they are haughty, proud, and courageous, under a monarch who is active and fond of glory; indolent and ſtupid under a ſuperſtitious king; full of hopes and fears under a young prince; of weakneſs and corruption under an old deſpot; or rather alternately confident and weak,

under the ſeveral miniſters who are raiſed by intrigue. In ſuch ſtates, government aſſumes the character of the adminiſtration; but in free ſtates it is juſt the reverſe. BOOK XIX.

Whatever may be ſaid of the nature and ſprings of the different ſyſtems of government to which men are ſubject, the art of legiſlation being that which ought to be the moſt perfect, is alſo the moſt proper to employ men of the firſt genius. The ſcience of government does not contain abſtracted truths, or rather it has not one ſingle principle which does not extend to all the branches of adminiſtration.

The ſtate is a very complicated machine, which cannot be wound up or ſet in motion without a thorough knowledge of all its component parts. If any one of the parts be too much ſtraitened or relaxed, the whole muſt be in diſorder. Every project that may be beneficial to a certain number of citizens, or in critical times, may become fatal to the whole nation, and prejudicial for a long continuance. If we deſtroy or change the nature of any great body, thoſe convulſive motions, which are called ſtrokes of ſtate, will diſturb the whole nation, which may, perhaps, feel the effects of them for ages to come. All innovations ought to be brought about inſenſibly; they ſhould ariſe from neceſſity, be the reſult, as it were, of the public clamour, or at leaſt agree with the general wiſhes. To aboliſh old cuſtoms, or to introduce new ones on a ſudden, tends only to increaſe that which is bad, and to prevent the effect of that which is good. To act without conſulting the will of the generality, without collecting, as it were, the majority of votes in the public opinion, is to alienate the hearts and minds of men, and to bring every thing into diſcredit, even what is honeſt and good.

It would be a deſirable thing in Europe, that the ſovereigns, convinced of the neceſſity of improving the ſcience of government, ſhould imitate a cuſtom eſtabliſhed in China. In this empire, the miniſters are diſtinguiſhed into two claſſes, the *thinkers* and the *ſign-*

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In the happy ſtate of policy and knowledge to which Europe hath attained, it is plain that this conviction of the mind, which produces a free, eaſy, and general obedience, can proceed from nothing but a certain evidence of the utility of the laws. If the governments will not pay *thinkers*, who may, perhaps, become ſuſpicious or corrupt as ſoon as they are mercenary, let them, at leaſt, allow men of ſuperior underſtandings to watch in ſome meaſure over the public good. Every writer of genius is born a magiſtrate of his country; and he ought to enlighten it as much as it is in his power. His abilities give him a right to do it. Whether he be an obſcure or a diſtinguiſhed citizen, whatever be his rank or birth, his mind, which is always noble, derives its claims from his talents. His tribunal is the whole nation; his judge is the public, not the deſpot who does not hear him, nor the miniſter who will not attend to him.

All theſe truths have, doubtleſs, their boundaries; but it is always more dangerous to ſuppreſs the freedom of thought, than to leave it to its bent or impetuoſity. Reaſon and truth triumph over thoſe daring and violent minds, which are rouſed only by reſtraint, and irritated only by perſecution. Kings and mini-

ſters, love your people, love mankind, and ye will be happy. Ye will then have no reaſon to fear men of free ſentiments or unſatisfied minds, nor the revolt of bad men. The revolt of the heart is much more dangerous; for virtue, when ſoured, and rouſed into indignation, is guilty of the moſt atrocious acts. Cato and Brutus were both virtuous: they were reduced to the alternative of chooſing between two great enormities, ſuicide, or the death of Cæſar.

Remember that the intereſts of government and thoſe of the nation are the ſame. Whoever attempts to ſeparate them, is unacquainted with their true nature, and will only injure them.

Authority divides this great intereſt, when the wills of individuals are ſubſtituted to the eſtabliſhed order. The laws, and thoſe alone, ought to have the ſway. This univerſal rule is not a yoke for the citizens, but a power which protects them, and a watchfulneſs which inſures their tranquillity. They think themſelves free; and this opinion, which conſtitutes their happineſs, determines their ſubmiſſion. If the arbitrary caprices of a turbulent and enterpriſing adminiſtrator ſhould ſubvert this fortunate ſyſtem, the people, who from habit, prejudice, or ſelf-love, are generally inclined to conſider the government under which they live as the beſt of all poſſible governments, are deprived of this illuſion, to which nothing can be ſubſtituted.

Authority divides this great intereſt, when it obſtinately perſeveres in any error into which it hath fallen. Let it not be blinded by a fooliſh pride, and it will perceive that thoſe changes, which bring it back to what is true and good, far from weakening its ſprings, will ſtrengthen them. To be undeceived with reſpect to a dangerous miſtake, is not to contradict one's ſelf; it is not to diſplay to the people the inconſtancy of government; it is to demonſtrate to them its wiſdom and its uprightneſs. If their reſpect were to diminiſh, it would be for that power which would ne-

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ver know its miſtakes, or would always juſtify them, and not for thoſe who would avow and correct them.

Authority divides this great intereſt, when it ſacrifices the tranquillity, eaſe, and blood of the people, to the terrible and tranſient brilliancy of warlike exploits. It is in vain that we endeavour to juſtify theſe deſtructive propenſities by ſtatues and by inſcriptions. Theſe monuments of arrogance and flattery will one day be deſtroyed by time or overthrown by hatred. The memory of that prince only will be reſpected, who ſhall have preferred peace, which muſt have inſured happineſs to his ſubjects, to victories, which would have been only for himſelf; who ſhall have conſidered the empire as his family; who ſhall have made no other uſe of his power, than for the advantage of thoſe who had intruſted him with it. His name and his character will be univerſally cheriſhed. Fathers will inform poſterity of the happineſs which they enjoyed. Their children will repeat it to their deſcendants; and this delightful remembrance will be preſerved from one age to another, and will be perpetuated in each family, and to the remoteſt centuries.

Authority divides this great intereſt, when the perſon in whoſe hands the reins of government have been placed, by birth or election, ſuffers them to be guided at pleaſure by blind chance; when he prefers a mean repoſe to the dignity and the importance of the functions with which he is intruſted. His inaction is criminal and infamous. The indulgence with which his faults might have been treated, will be juſtly denied to his indolence. This ſeverity will be the more lawful, as his character will have determined him to chooſe for ſubſtitutes the firſt ambitious men who may offer, and theſe almoſt neceſſarily men of no capacity. If even he had the ſingular good fortune of making a good choice, he would ſtill be unpardonable, becauſe it is not allowable to impoſe our duties upon others. He will die without having lived. His name will be forgotten, or, if remembered, it will only be as the

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names of thoſe ſluggard kings, the years of whoſe reign hiſtory hath with reaſon diſdained to count.

Authority divides this great intereſt, when the poſts which determine the public tranquillity are intruſted to vile or corrupt men of intrigue; when favour ſhall obtain the rewards due to ſervices; when the powerful ſprings, which inſure the grandeur and the duration of empires, are deſtroyed. All emulation is extinct. The enlightened and laborious citizens either conceal themſelves, or retire. The wicked and the audacious ſhow themſelves inſolently, and proſper. Every thing is directed and determined by preſumption, by intereſt, and by the moſt diſordinate paſſions. Juſtice is diſregarded, virtue is degraded, and propriety, which might in ſome meaſure be a ſubſtitute to it, is conſidered as an old prejudice or a ridiculous cuſtom. Diſcouragement within and opprobrium without, theſe are all that remain to a nation formerly powerful and reſpected.

There may ſometimes be people diſſatisfied under a good government; but where there are many that are unhappy, without any kind of public proſperity, then it is that the government is vicious in its nature.

Mankind are juſt as we would have them to be; it is the mode of government which gives them a good or an evil propenſity.

A ſtate ought to have one object only in view; and that is, public felicity. Every ſtate has a particular manner of promoting this end; which may be conſidered as its ſpirit, its principle, to which every thing elſe is ſubordinate.

A nation can have no induſtry for the arts, nor courage for war, without a confidence in, and an attachment to, the government. But when the principle of fear hath broken every other ſpring of the ſoul, a nation then becomes of no conſequence, the prince is expoſed to a thouſand enterpriſes from without, and a thouſand dangers from within. Deſpiſed by his neighbours, and abhorred by his ſubjects, he muſt be in perpetual fear for the ſafety of his kingdom, as well

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as for that of his own life. It is a happineſs for a nation that commerce, arts, and ſciences, ſhould flouriſh within it. It is even a happineſs for thoſe who govern, when they are not inclined to exert acts of tyranny. Upright minds are very eaſily led; but none have a greater averſion for violence and ſlavery. Let good monarchs be bleſſed with enlightened people, and let tyrants have none but brutes to reign over.

Military power is both the cauſe and the deſtruction of deſpotiſm; which in its infant ſtate may be compared to a lion that conceals his talons in order to let them grow. In its full vigour, it may be conſidered as a madman who tears his body to pieces with his arms. In its advanced age, it is like Saturn, who, after having devoured his children, is ſhamefully mutilated by his own race.

Government may be divided into legiſlation and policy. Legiſlation relates to the internal management of the ſtate, and policy to the external direction of it.

Policy.

Savage nations, which are addicted to hunting, have rather a policy than a legiſlation. Governed among themſelves by manners and example, the only conventions or laws they have are between one nation and another. Treaties of peace or alliance conſtitute their only code of legiſlation.

Such were nearly the ſocieties of ancient times. Separated by deſerts, without any communication of trade or voyages, they had only a preſent and immediate intereſt to ſettle. All their negotiations conſiſted in putting an end to a war by fixing the boundaries of a ſtate. As it was neceſſary to perſuade a nation, and not bribe a court by the miſtreſſes or favourites of a prince, eloquent men were employed for this purpoſe; and the names of orator and ambaſſador were ſynonymous.

In the middle ages, when every thing, even juſtice itſelf, was decided by force; when the Gothic government divided by ſeparate intereſts all thoſe petty ſtates which owed their exiſtence to its conſtitution; nego-

tiations had but little influence over a wild and recluſe people, who knew no right but that of war, no treaties but for truces or ranſoms.

During this long period of ignorance and barbariſm, policy was entirely confined to the court of Rome. It had ariſen from the artifices which had founded the papal government. As the pontiffs, by the laws of religion and the ſyſtem of the hierarchy, influenced a very numerous clergy, whoſe proſelytes extended perpetually in all the Chriſtian ſtates, the correſpondence kept up with the biſhops, eſtabliſhed early at Rome a centre of communication for all the different churches or nations. All rights were ſubordinate to a religion which exerciſed an abſolute authority over the mind of every individual; it had a ſhare in almoſt every tranſaction, either as the motive or the means; and the popes, by the Italian agents they had placed in all the prelacies of the Chriſtian ſtate, were conſtantly informed of every commotion, and availed themſelves of every event. They had the higheſt intereſt in this; that of attaining univerſal monarchy. The barbariſm of the times in which this project was conceived, does not leſſen its greatneſs and ſublimity. How daring was the attempt, to ſubdue, without troops, nations that were always in arms! What art to make even the weakneſs of the clergy reſpectable and ſacred! What ſkill to agitate, to ſhake thrones one after the other, in order to keep them all in ſubjection! So deep, ſo extenſive a deſign could only be carried into execution, by being concealed; and therefore was inconſiſtent with an hereditary monarchy; in which the paſſions of kings, and the intrigues of miniſters, are the cauſe of ſo much inſtability in affairs. This project, and the general rule of conduct it requires, could not be formed but in an elective government, in which the chief is always choſen from a body animated with the ſame ſpirit, and guided by the ſame maxims; in which an ariſtocratic court rather governs the prince, than ſuffers itſelf to be governed by him.

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While Italian policy was engaged in examining all the ſtates of Europe, and availing itſelf of every opportunity to aggrandize and confirm the power of the church, each ſovereign ſaw with indifference the revolutions that were taking place without. Moſt of them were too much engaged in eſtabliſhing their authority in their own dominions, in diſputing the branches of power with the ſeveral bodies which were in poſſeſſion of them, or which were ſtriving againſt the natural bent that monarchy has to deſpotiſm: they were not ſufficiently maſters of their own inheritance, to interfere in the diſputes of their neighbours.

The fifteenth century changed the order of things. When the princes had collected their forces, they were inclined to bring them to action, and try their reſpective ſtrength. Till that time, the nations had only carried on war with each other upon their ſeveral frontiers. The ſeaſon of the campaign was loſt in aſſembling troops, which every baron always raiſed very ſlowly. There were then only ſkirmiſhes between ſmall parties, not any regular battles between different armies. When a prince, either by alliances or inheritance, had acquired poſſeſſions in different ſtates, the intereſts were confounded, and contentions aroſe among the people. It was neceſſary to ſend regular troops in the pay of the monarch, to defend at a diſtance territories that did not belong to the ſtate. The crown of England no longer held provinces in the midſt of France; but that of Spain acquired ſome rights in Germany, and that of France laid ſome claims in Italy. From that time all Europe was in a perpetual alternate ſtate of war and negotiation.

The ambition, talents, and rivalſhip of Charles V. and Francis I. gave riſe to the preſent ſyſtem of modern politics. Before theſe two kings, France and Spain had diſputed the kingdom of Naples, in the name of the houſes of Arragon and Anjou. Their diſſenſions had excited a ferment throughout all Italy, and the republic of Venice was the chief cauſe of

that inteſtine commotion that was excited againſt two foreign powers. The Germans took a part in theſe diſturbances, either as auxiliaries, or as being intereſted in them. The emperor and the pope were concerned in them with almoſt all Chriſtendom. But Francis I. and Charles V. engaged in their fate, the views, the anxiety, the deſtiny of all Europe. All the powers ſeemed to be divided between two rival houſes, in order to weaken alternately the moſt powerful. Fortune favoured the talents, the force, and the artifice of Charles V. More ambitious and leſs voluptuous than Francis I., his character turned the ſcale, and Europe for a time inclined to his ſide, but did not continue always to favour the ſame intereſt.

Philip II. who had all the ſpirit of intrigue, but not the military virtues of his father, inherited his projects and ambitious views, and found the times favourable to his aggrandizement. He exhauſted his kingdom of men and ſhips, and even of money, though he was in poſſeſſion of the mines of the New World; and left behind him a more extenſive monarchy, but Spain itſelf in a much weaker ſtate than it had been under his father.

His ſon imagined he ſhould again make all Europe dependent, by an alliance with that branch of his houſe which reigned in Germany. Philip II. had through negligence relinquiſhed this political idea: Philip III. reſumed it. But in other reſpects he followed the erroneous, narrow, ſuperſtitious, and pedantic principles of his predeceſſor. Within the ſtate, there was much formality, but no order and no economy. The church was perpetually encroaching upon the ſtate. The inquiſition, that horrid monſter, which conceals its head in the heavens and its feet in the infernal regions, ſtruck at the root of population, which at the ſame time ſuffered conſiderably from war and the colonies. In the external operations of the ſtate, there were ſtill the ſame ambitious views, and leſs skilful meaſures. Raſh and precipitate

BOOK XIX. in his enterprises, slow and obstinate in the execution of them, Philip III. had all those defects which are prejudicial to each other, and occasion every project to miscarry. He destroyed the small degree of life and vigour the monarchy yet retained. Richelieu availed himself of the weakness of Spain, and the foibles of the king whom he ruled over, to fill that period with his intrigues, and cause his name to descend to posterity. Germany and Spain were in some manner connected to each other by the house of Austria. to this league, he opposed that of France with Sweden, to counteract the effect of the former. This system would naturally have taken place in his times, if it had not been the work of his genius. Gustavus Adolphus by his conquests enslaved all the north. All Europe concurred in lowering the pride of the house of Austria; and the peace of the Pyrenees turned the scale against Spain in favour of France.

Charles V. had been accused of aiming at universal monarchy; and Lewis XIV. was taxed with the same ambition. But neither of them ever conceived so high and so rash a project. They were both of them passionately desirous of extending their empire, by the aggrandizement of their families. This ambition is equally natural to princes of common abilities, who are born without any talents, as it is to monarchs of superior understanding, who have no virtues or moral qualifications. But neither Charles V. nor Lewis XIV. had that kind of spirit of resolution, that impulse of the soul to brave every thing, which constitutes heroic conquerors: they bore no resemblance in any particular to Alexander. Nevertheless useful alarms were taken and spread abroad. Such alarms cannot be too soon conceived, nor too soon diffused, when there arise any powers that are formidable to their neighbours. It is chiefly among nations, and with respect to kings, that fear produces safety.

When Lewis XIV. began to reflect on his own situation, perhaps he might be surprised at seeing himself more powerful than he thought he was. His great-

neſs was partly owing to the little harmony that ſubſiſted between the forces and the deſigns of his enemies. Europe had, indeed, felt the neceſſity of a general union, but had not diſcovered the means of forming it. In treating with this monarch, proud of ſucceſs, and vain from the applauſe he had received, it was thought a conſiderable advantage if every thing was not given up. In a word, the inſults of France, which increaſed with her victories; the natural turn of her intrigues to ſpread diſſenſion everywhere, in order to reign alone; her contempt for the faith of treaties; the haughty and authoritative tone ſhe uſurped, turned the general envy ſhe had excited into deteſtation, and raiſed univerſal alarms. Even thoſe princes, who had ſeen without umbrage, or favoured the increaſe of her power, felt the neceſſity of repairing this error in politics, and of combining and raiſing among themſelves a body of forces ſuperior to thoſe of France, in order to prevent her tyrannizing over the nations.

Leagues were, therefore, formed, which were for a long time ineffectual. One man alone was found capable to animate and conduct them. Warmed with that public ſpirit, which only great and virtuous ſouls can poſſeſs, it was a prince, though born in a republic, who, for the general cauſe of Europe, was inflamed with that love of liberty, ſo natural to upright minds. He turned his ambition towards the greateſt object and moſt worthy of the time in which he lived. His own intereſt never warped him from that of the public. With a courage peculiar to himſelf he knew how to defy thoſe very misfortunes which he foreſaw; depending leſs for ſucceſs upon his military abilities, than, waiting for a favourable turn of affairs, from his patience and political activity. Such was the ſituation of affairs when the ſucceſſion to the throne of Spain ſet all Europe in flames.

Since the empire of the Perſians and that of the Romans, ambition had never been tempted by ſo rich a ſpoil. The prince, who might have united this crown to his own, would naturally have riſen to that

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universal monarchy, the idea of which raised a general alarm. It was therefore necessary to prevent this empire from becoming the possession of a power already formidable, and to keep the balance equal between the Houses of Austria and Bourbon, which had the only hereditary right to the throne.

Men well versed in the knowledge of the manners and affairs of Spain, have asserted, if we may believe Bolingbroke, that had it not been for the hostilities, which were then excited by England and Holland, we should have seen Philip V. as good a Spaniard as his predecessors, and that the French ministry would then have had no influence over the Spanish administration; but that the war raised against the Spaniards for the sake of giving them a ruler, obliged them to have recourse to the fleets and armies of a state that was alone capable of assisting them in fixing upon such a king as they wanted. This just idea, the result of deep reflection, has been confirmed by the experience of half a century. The turn of the Spaniards has never been able to coincide with the taste of the French. Spain, from the character of her inhabitants, seems rather to belong to Africa than to Europe.

The train of events, however, answered to the general wishes. The armies and the councils of the quadruple alliance gained an equal superiority over the common enemy. Instead of those languid and unfortunate campaigns which had tried the patience of the prince of Orange, but not discouraged him, all the operations of the confederates were successful. France, in her turn, humbled and defeated on every side, was upon the brink of ruin, when she was restored by the death of the emperor.

It was then perceived, that if the archduke Charles, crowned with the imperial diadem, and succeeding to all the dominions of the House of Austria, should join Spain and the West Indies to this vast inheritance, he would be in possession of that same exorbitant power, which the House of Bourbon had been deprived of by

the war. But the enemies of France ſtill perſiſted in their deſign of dethroning Philip V. without thinking of the perſon that was to ſucceed him; while true politicians, notwithſtanding their triumphs, grew tired of a war, the very ſucceſs of which always became an evil, when it could no longer do any good. BOOK XIX.

This difference of opinions raiſed diſſenſions among the allies, which prevented them from reaping all thoſe advantages from the peace of Utrecht, they might reaſonably have expected from their ſucceſs. The beſt means that could be deviſed to protect the provinces of the allies, were to lay open the frontiers of France. Lewis XIV. had employed forty years in fortifying them, and his neighbours had ſuffered him quietly to raiſe theſe bulwarks which kept them in continual awe. It was neceſſary to demoliſh them: for every ſtrong power that puts itſelf in a poſture of defence, intends to form an attack. Philip remained upon the throne of Spain; and the fortifications were left ſtanding in Flanders, and on the borders of the Rhine.

Since this period, no opportunity hath offered to rectify the miſtake committed at the peace of Utrecht. France hath always maintained its ſuperiority on the continent; but chance hath often diminiſhed its influence. The ſcales of the political balance will never be perfectly even, nor accurate enough to determine the degrees of power with exact preciſion. Perhaps, even this balance of power may be nothing more than a chimera. It can be only fixed by treaties, and theſe have no validity, when they are only made between abſolute monarchs, and not between nations. Theſe acts muſt be permanent when made by the people themſelves, becauſe the object of them is their peace and ſafety, which are their greateſt advantages: but a deſpot always ſacrifices his ſubjects to his anxiety, and his engagements to his ambition.

But it is not war alone that determines the ſuperiority of nations, as it hath been hitherto imagined; ſince during the laſt half-century commerce hath had

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a much greater influence in it. While the powers of the continent divided Europe into unequal portions, which policy, by means of leagues, treaties, and alliances, always preserved in a certain equilibrium; a maritime people formed as it were a new syſtem, and by their induſtry made the land ſubject to the ſea; as nature herſelf has done by her laws. They formed, or brought to perfection, that extenſive commerce, which is founded on an excellent ſyſtem of agriculture, flouriſhing manufactures, and the richeſt poſſeſſions of the four quarters of the world. This is the kind of univerſal monarchy that Europe ought to wreſt from England, in reſtoring to each maritime ſtate that freedom and that power it hath a right to have upon the element that ſurrounds it. This is a ſyſtem of public good founded upon natural equity, and in this caſe juſtice is the voice of general intereſt. The people cannot be too much warned to reſume all their powers, and to employ the reſources offered them by the climate and the ſoil they inhabit, to acquire that national and diſtinct independence in which they were born.

If all Europe were ſufficiently enlightened, and each nation were acquainted with its rights and its real advantages, neither the continent nor the ocean would mutually give laws to each other; but a reciprocal influence would be eſtabliſhed between the continental and maritime people, a balance of induſtry and power, which would induce a mutual intercourſe for the general benefit. Each nation would ſow and reap upon its proper element. The ſeveral ſtates would enjoy the ſame liberty of exportation and importation that ſhould ſubſiſt between the provinces of the ſame empire.

There is a great error that prevails in modern politics, which is, that every ſtate ſhould endeavour to weaken its enemies as much as poſſible. But no nation can ſeek the ruin of another ſtate, without paving the way for, and haſtening its own ſlavery. There are certainly moments in which fortune at once throws

into the way of a people a great increaſe of power; but ſuch ſudden elevations are not laſting. It is ſometimes better to ſupport rivals, than to oppreſs them. Sparta refuſed to enſlave Athens, and Rome repented of having deſtroyed Carthage. BOOK XIX.

Theſe noble and generous ſentiments would prevent policy from the neceſſity of committing many crimes and aſſerting many falſehoods; policy, which for theſe two or three centuries paſt hath had more important and more various objects to attend to. The influence of policy was formerly much limited, it ſeldom extended beyond the frontiers of the ſeveral nations. Its ſphere hath been ſingularly enlarged in proportion as the nations moſt diſtant from each other have formed connections among themſelves. It hath particularly received an immenſe increaſe ſince the time, when by diſcoveries, either fortunate or unfortunate, all the parts of the univerſe have been rendered ſubordinate to thoſe which we inhabit.

As the operations of policy were multiplied in proportion to the extent which it acquired, every power thought it neceſſary for their intereſts to fix agents in foreign courts, who had formerly been employed there but for a very ſhort time. The habit of treating inceſſantly gave birth to maxims unknown before that period. Delays and artifices were ſubſtituted to the frankneſs and celerity of tranſient negotiations. The powers ſounded and ſtudied each other, and reciprocal attempts were made to tire out or to ſurpriſe all parties. Secrets which had been found impenetrable were purchaſed with gold, and bribery completed what intrigue had begun.

It appeared neceſſary to furniſh a continual ſupply of matter to quiet that ſpirit of anxiety with which the minds of all the ambaſſadors had been impreſſed. Policy, like that inſidious inſect that weaves its web in darkneſs, hath ſtretched forth its net in the midſt of Europe, and faſtened it, as it were, to every court. One ſingle thread cannot be touched without drawing all the reſt. The moſt petty ſovereign hath ſome ſe-

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cret intereſt in the treaties between the greater powers. Two petty princes of Germany cannot exchange a fief, or a domain, without being thwarted or ſeconded by the courts of Vienna, Verſailles, or London. Negotiations muſt be carried on in all the cabinets for years together for every the moſt trifling change in the diſpoſition of the land. The blood of the people is the only thing that is not bargained for. War is determined upon in a day or two; the ſettling of peace is protracted during ſeveral years. This ſlowneſs in negotiations, which proceeds from the nature of affairs, is alſo increaſed by the character of the negotiators.

Theſe are generally ignorant perſons, who are treating with ſome men of knowledge and abilities. The chancellor Oxenſtiern ordered his ſon to prepare himſelf to go to Weſtphalia, where the troubles of the empire were to be pacified. *But*, ſaid the young man, *I have not attended to any previous ſtudies neceſſary for this important commiſſion. I will prepare you for it*, replied the father. A fortnight after, Oxenſtiern, who had not ſpoken upon the ſubject to his ſon, ſaid to him, *My ſon, you muſt ſet out to-morrow.—But, ſir, you had promiſed to inſtruct me, and you have not done it. Go, nevertheleſs*, replied the experienced miniſter, ſhrugging up his ſhoulders, *and you will ſee by what kind of men the world is governed.* There are, perhaps, two or three wiſe and judicious councils in Europe. The reſt are in the poſſeſſion of intriguing men, raiſed to the management of affairs by the paſſions and ſhameful pleaſures of a prince and his miſtreſſes. A man is advanced to a ſhare in the adminiſtration, without any knowledge of the ſubject; he adopts the firſt ſyſtem that is offered to his caprice, purſues it without underſtanding it, and, with a degree of obſtinacy proportionate to his ignorance, he changes the whole plan of his predeceſſors, in order to introduce his own ſyſtem of adminiſtration, which he will never be able to ſupport. Richelieu's firſt declaration, when he became miniſter, was, *the council hath altered its plan.* This ſaying, which was once found to be a good one, in the

mouth of one ſingle man, has, perhaps, been repeated, or thought of, by every one of Richelieu's ſucceſſors. BOOK XIX.

All men engaged in public affairs have the vanity not only to proportion the parade of their expence, of their manner, and of their air, to the importance of their office, but even to raiſe the opinion they have of their own underſtanding, in proportion to the influence of their authority.

When a nation is great and powerful, what ſhould its governors be? The court and the people will anſwer this queſtion, but in a very different manner. The miniſters ſee nothing in their office but the extent of their rights; the people the extent only of their duties. The ideas of the latter are juſt; for the duties and rights ariſing from each mode of government ought to be regulated by the wants and deſires of each nation. But this principle of the law of nature is not applicable to the ſocial ſtate. As ſocieties, whatever be their origin, are almoſt all of them ſubject to the authority of one ſingle man, political meaſures are dependent on the character of the prince.

If the king be a weak and irreſolute man, his government will change as his miniſters, and his politics will vary with his government. He will alternately have miniſters that are ignorant or enlightened, ſteady or fickle, deceitful or ſincere, harſh or humane, inclined to war or peace; ſuch, in a word, as the variety of intrigues will produce them. Such a ſtate will have no regular ſyſtem of politics; and all other governments will not be able to maintain any permanent deſigns and meaſures with it. The ſyſtem of politics muſt then vary with the day, or the moment; that is, with the humour of the prince. Under a weak and unſteady reign, none but temporary intereſts ought to prevail, and connections ſubordinate to the inſtability of the miniſtry.

The reciprocal jealouſy prevailing between the depoſitaries of the royal authority is another cauſe of this inſtability. One man, againſt the teſtimony of his

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conſcience and of his knowledge, counteracts from a motive of mean jealouſy, a uſeful meaſure, the honour of which would belong to his rival. The next day the ſame infamous part is adopted by the latter. The ſovereign alternately grants what he had refuſed, or refuſes what he had granted. The negotiator will eaſily perceive which of his miniſters he has leaſt conſulted, but it is impoſſible for him to foreſee what his laſt reſolution will be. In this embarraſſment to whom ſhall we have recourſe? To bribery and to the women, if he be ſent into a country governed by a man. To bribery and to the men, if he be ſent into a country governed by a woman. He muſt lay aſide the character of the ambaſſador or of the envoy, in order to aſſume that of the corrupter, the only one by which he can ſucceed. It is gold which he muſt ſubſtitute to the moſt profound policy. But if by ſome chance, of which perhaps there is ſcarce any example, gold ſhould fail of its effect, the only reſource he has remaining is to ſolicit to be recalled.

But the fate of nations and political intereſts are very different in republican governments. As the authority there reſides in the collective body of the people, there are certain principles and ſome public intereſts attended to in every negotiation. In this caſe, the permanency of a ſyſtem is not to be confined to the duration of the miniſtry, or to the life of one ſingle man. The general ſpirit that exiſts and perpetuates itſelf in the nation is the only rule of every negotiation. Not but that a powerful citizen, or an eloquent demagogue, may ſometimes lead a popular government into a political miſtake; but this is eaſily recovered. Faults, in theſe inſtances, may be conſidered equally with ſucceſſes as leſſons of inſtruction. Great events, and not men, produce remarkable periods in the hiſtory of republics. It is in vain to attempt to ſurpriſe a free people by artifice or intrigues, into a treaty of peace or alliance. Their maxims will always make them return to their laſting intereſts, and all en-

gagements will give way to the ſupreme law. In theſe governments, it is the ſafety of the people that does every thing, while in others it is the will of the ruler. BOOK XIX.

This contraſt of political principles has rendered every popular government ſuſpicious or odious to all abſolute monarchs. They have dreaded the influence of a republican ſpirit upon their own ſubjects, the weight of whoſe chains they are every day increaſing. A kind of ſecret conſpiracy may therefore be perceived between all monarchies, to deſtroy, or inſenſibly to ſap, the foundations of all free ſtates. But liberty will ariſe from the midſt of oppreſſion. It already exiſts in every breaſt; public writings will contribute to inſtil it into the minds of all enlightened men, and tyranny into the hearts of the people. All men will, at length, be ſenſible, and this period is at no great diſtance, that liberty is the firſt gift of Heaven, as it is the firſt ſource of virtue. The inſtruments of deſpotiſm will become its deſtroyers; and the enemies of humanity, thoſe who ſeem armed at preſent merely to oppoſe it, will exert themſelves in its defence.

In this place I was intending to ſpeak of war, or that rage which, being kindled by injuſtice, ambition, and revenge, aſſembles, under two adverſe commanders, a multitude of armed men, impels them againſt each other, drenches the earth with their blood, ſtrews it with dead bodies, and prepares nouriſhment for the animals that come after them, but who are leſs ferocious than they. War.

But I have ſuddenly poſtponed my intention, by aſking of myſelf what peace is, and whether it exiſts anywhere? Upon the ſpot where I now am, in the centre of my own city, a multitude of intereſts oppoſite to mine confine me, and I repel them. If I paſs the limits of that ſpace which I call my own country, I am conſidered with an anxious eye; I am accoſted, and aſked, who I am, from whence I came, and where I am going? At length I obtain a bed, and am preparing to take ſome reſt, when a ſudden clamour compels me to depart. If I remain, I am proſcribed; and

BOOK XIX. the next day the houſe which had given me refuge ſhall be ſet on fire, and thoſe who have treated me as a fellow-citizen ſhall be murdered by aſſaſſins who ſpeak my own language. Should curioſity, or a thirſt of knowledge, induce me to viſit another country: if I take ſome pains to examine it, I am immediately ſuſpected, and a ſpy is commiſſioned to watch me. Should I have the misfortune to worſhip God in my own way, which happens not to be that of the country I am viſiting, I am ſurrounded by prieſts and executioners. I then make my eſcape, exclaiming, with grief: Peace, then, that bleſſing ſo earneſtly wiſhed for, exiſts not in any place.

The good man, however, hath his dreams; and I will acknowledge, that being witneſs to the progreſs of knowledge, which hath ſhaken ſo many prejudices, and introduced ſo much ſoftneſs in our manners, I have thought that it was impoſſible the infernal art of war ſhould be perpetuated, but that it would ſink into oblivion. The people who have brought it to perfection will become accurſed; and the moment when theſe formidable inſtruments of death ſhall be generally demoliſhed cannot be far diſtant. The univerſe will at length execrate thoſe odious conquerors, who have rather choſen to be the terror of their neighbours than the fathers of their ſubjects, and to invade provinces rather than to gain the affections of men; who have choſen that the cries of grief ſhould be the only hymn accompanying their victories; who have raiſed up melancholy monuments, deſtined to immortalize their rage and their vanity, in the countries which they had ſpoiled, in the cities they had reduced to aſhes, and over the carcaſes which their ſwords had heaped on each other; conquerors, who have had no other wiſh than that the hiſtory of their reign ſhould contain only the remembrance of the calamities they had occaſioned. Mankind will no longer be deceived reſpecting the objects of their admiration. They will no longer, with abject infatuation, proſtrate themſelves before thoſe who trampled them under their feet. Ca-

lamities will be conſidered in their proper light; and the nocturnal labours and talents of great artiſts will no longer be proſtituted to the commemoration of brilliant crimes. Princes themſelves will partake of the wiſdom of their age. The voice of philoſophy will revive in their minds ſentiments which have long lain dormant, and will inſpire them with horror, and a contempt for ſanguinary glory. They will be confirmed in theſe ideas by the miniſters of religion; who, availing themſelves of the ſacred privilege of their functions, will drag them before the tribunal of the Great Judge, where they will be obliged to anſwer for the thouſands of unfortunate perſons ſacrificed to their hatred or caprice. If it were reſolved in the decrees of Heaven, that ſovereigns ſhould perſevere in their frenzy, thoſe numberleſs hordes of aſſaſſins who are kept in pay would throw away their arms. Filled with a juſt horror for their deteſtable employment, and with profound indignation againſt the cruel abuſe which was made of their ſtrength and of their courage, they would leave their extravagant deſpots to ſettle their quarrels themſelves.

But this illuſion did not laſt long. I was ſoon perſuaded that the diſputes between kings would never end, any more than their paſſions, and that they could only be decided by the ſword. I thought that it would be impoſſible ever to diſguſt of the horrors of war a people, who, notwithſtanding all ſorts of cruelties and devaſtations were committed around them without ſcruple and without remorſe, upon the ſcene of diſcord, ſtill found, while ſitting quietly by their fire-ſide, that there were not ſieges, battles, or cataſtrophes enough to ſatisfy their curioſity and amuſe their vacant hours. I thought, that there was nothing either reaſonable or humane to be expected from a ſet of ſubaltern butchers, who, far from giving themſelves up to deſpair, from tearing their hair, from deteſting themſelves, and from ſhedding rivers of tears at the ſight of a vaſt plain filled with ſcattered members, were, on the contrary, able to go over it with an air of

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triumph, bathing their feet in the blood of their friends and of their enemies, walking over their carcaſes, and mixing ſongs of mirth with the plaintive accents of expiring men. It ſeemed to me, as if I heard the ſpeech of one of thoſe tygers, who, blending flattery with ferociouſneſs, ſaid to a monarch, ſeized with a conſternation at the ſight of a field of battle covered with torn limbs and dead bodies, ſcarcely cold: *Sir, it is not us, but thoſe, who are too happy:* and thus prevented the tears from falling from the eyes of a young prince; tears, which he ought rather to have prompted him to ſhed, by ſaying to him: "Behold, and conſider the "effects of thy ambition, of thy folly, of thy rage, and "of ours; and feel the drops of blood trickling down "thy cheeks, which fall from the laurels with which "we have crowned thee." Theſe diſtreſſing reflections plunged me into melancholy; ſo that it was ſome time before I could reſume the thread of my ideas, and go on with my ſubject.

War has exiſted at all times and in all countries; but the art of war is only to be found in certain ages of the world, and among certain people. The Greeks inſtituted it, and conquered all the powers of Aſia. The Romans improved it, and ſubdued the world. Theſe two nations, worthy to command all others, as their genius and virtue were the cauſes of their proſperity, owed this ſuperiority to their infantry, in which every ſingle man exerts his whole ſtrength. The Grecian phalanx and the Roman legions were everywhere victorious.

When indolence had introduced a ſuperior number of cavalry into the armies of the ancients, Rome loſt ſome of its glory and ſucceſs. Notwithſtanding the exact diſcipline of its troops, it could no longer reſiſt thoſe barbarous nations that fought on foot.

Theſe men, however, little better than ſavages, who, with arms only, and thoſe powers nature had taught them the uſe of, had ſubdued the moſt extenſive and the moſt civilized empire of the univerſe, ſoon changed their infantry into cavalry. This was properly called

the line of battle, or the army. All the nobility, who were the ſole poſſeſſors of lands and of privileges, thoſe uſual attendants of victory, choſe to ride on horſeback; while the enſlaved multitude were left on foot, almoſt without arms, and were ſcarce holden in any degree of eſtimation. BOOK XIX.

In times when the gentleman was diſtinguiſhed by his horſe; when the man himſelf was of little conſequence, and every idea of importance was attached to the knight; when wars conſiſted in ſmall incurſions, and campaigns laſted but a day; when ſucceſs depended upon the quickneſs of marches; then the fate of armies was determined by cavalry. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there were ſcarce any other troops in Europe. The dexterity and ſtrength of men was no longer ſhown in wreſtling, at the ceſtus, in the exerciſe of arms, and of all the muſcles of the body; but in tournaments, in managing a horſe, and in throwing the lance at full ſpeed. This ſpecies of war, better calculated for wandering Tartars, than for fixed and ſedentary ſocieties, was one of the defects of the feudal government. A race of conquerors, whoſe rights were to be determined by their ſwords, whoſe merit and glory were in their arms, whoſe ſole occupation was hunting, could ſcarce avoid riding on horſeback, with all that parade and ſpirit of authority which muſt neceſſarily ariſe from a rude and uncultivated underſtanding. But what could troops of heavy-armed cavalry avail in the attack and defence of caſtles and towns, fortified by walls or by ſurrounding waters?

To this imperfection of the military art, muſt be aſcribed the duration of war for ſeveral ages, without intermiſſion, between France and England. War continued inceſſantly for want of a ſufficient number of men. Whole months were required to collect, to arm, to bring into the field troops that were only to continue there a few weeks. Kings could not aſſemble more than a certain number of vaſſals, and thoſe at ſtated times. The lords had only a right to call under

BOOK XIX. their banners ſome of their tenants, upon ſtipulated terms. The time that ought to have been employed in carrying on war was loſt in forms and regulations in the ſame manner as courts of juſtice conſume thoſe eſtates they are to determine. At length the French, tired with being conſtantly obliged to repulſe the Engliſh, like the horſe that implored the aſſiſtance of man againſt the ſtag, ſuffered the yoke and burden to be impoſed upon them, which they bear to this day. Kings raiſed and maintained at their own expence a conſtant body of troops. Charles VII. after having expelled the Engliſh by the aſſiſtance of mercenary troops, when he diſbanded his army, kept nine thouſand horſe and ſixteen thouſand infantry.

This was the origin of the abaſement of the nobility and the elevation of monarchy, of the political liberty of the nation without, and its civil ſlavery within. The people were delivered from feudal tyranny, only to fall, ſome time or other, under the deſpotiſm of kings. So much does human nature ſeem born for ſlavery! It became neceſſary to raiſe a fund for the payment of an army; and the taxes were arbitrary, and unlimited as the number of ſoldiers, who were diſtributed in the different parts of the kingdom, under a pretence of guarding the frontiers againſt the enemy; but in reality to reſtrain and oppreſs the ſubject. The officers, commanders, and governors, were tools of government always armed againſt the nation itſelf. They, as well as their ſoldiers, no longer conſidered themſelves as citizens of the ſtate, ſolely devoted to the defence of the property and rights of the people. They acknowledged no longer any perſon in the kingdom except the king, in whoſe name they were ready to maſſacre their fathers and brothers. In ſhort, the body of troops raiſed by the nation was nothing more than a royal army.

The diſcovery of gun-powder, which required conſiderable expence and great preparation, forges, magazines, and arſenals, made arms more than ever dependent on kings, and determined the advantage that in-

fantry hath over cavalry. The latter preſented the flank of the man and horſe to the former. A horſeman diſmounted was either loſt or good for nothing; and a horſe without a leader occaſioned confuſion and diſorder among the ranks. The havock which the artillery and fire-arms made in ſquadrons, was more difficult to repair than it was in battalions. In a word, men could be bought and diſciplined at a leſs expence than horſes; and this made it eaſy for kings to procure ſoldiers.

Thus the innovation of Charles VII. fatal to his ſubjects, at leaſt in futurity, became from his example prejudicial to the liberty of all the people of Europe. Every nation was obliged to keep itſelf upon the defence againſt a nation always in arms. The right ſyſtem of politics, if there were any politics at a time when arts, literature, and commerce had not yet opened a communication among people, ſhould have been, for the princes to have jointly attacked that particular power that had put itſelf into a ſtate of continual war. But inſtead of compelling it to ſubmit to peace, they took up arms themſelves. This contagion ſpread itſelf the quicker, as it appeared the ſole remedy againſt the danger of an invaſion, the only guarantee of the ſecurity of the nations.

There was, however, a general want of the knowledge neceſſary to diſcipline a body of infantry, the importance of which began to be perceived. The manner of fighting which the Switzers had employed againſt the Burgundians, had rendered them as celebrated as formidable. With heavy ſwords and long halberds, they had always overcome the horſes and men of the feudal army. As their ranks were impenetrable, and as they marched in cloſe columns, they overthrew all that attacked and all that oppoſed them. Every power was then deſirous of procuring ſome Swiſs ſoldiers. But the Switzers, ſenſible of the need there was of their aſſiſtance, and ſetting the purchaſe of it at too high a rate, it became neceſſary to reſolve not

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to employ them, and to form in all parts a national infantry, in order not to depend upon theſe auxiliary troops.

The Germans firſt adopted a diſcipline that required only ſtrength of body, and ſubordination. As their country abounded in men and horſes, they almoſt rivalled the reputation of the Swiſs infantry, without loſing the advantage of their own cavalry.

The French, more lively, adopted, with greater difficulty, and more ſlowly, a kind of military ſyſtem that laid a reſtraint upon all their motions, and ſeemed rather to require perſeverance than impetuoſity. But the taſte for imitation and novelty prevailed among this light people over that vanity which is fond of its own cuſtoms.

The Spaniards, notwithſtanding the pride they have been reproached with, improved the military art of the Switzers, by bringing to greater perfection the diſcipline of that warlike people. They formed an infantry which became alternately the terror and admiration of Europe.

In proportion as the infantry increaſed, the cuſtom and ſervice of the feudal militia ceaſed in all parts, and war became more general. The conſtitution of each nation had for ages paſt ſcarce allowed the different people to wage war and maſſacre one another beyond the barriers of their own ſtates. War was carried on upon the frontiers only between the neighbouring powers. When France and Spain had carried their arms to the moſt remote extremities of Italy, it was no longer poſſible to call together the ban and arriere ban of the nations, becauſe it was not in fact the people who made war againſt each other, but the kings with their troops, for the honour of themſelves or their families, without any regard to the good of their ſubjects. Not that the princes did not endeavour to intereſt the national pride of the people in their quarrels; but this was done merely to weaken, or totally to ſubdue that ſpirit of independence, which was ſtill

ſtruggling among ſome ſets of men, againſt that abſolute authority which the princes had gradually aſſumed.

All Europe was in commotion. The Germans marched into Italy, the Italians into Germany, the French into both theſe countries. The Turks beſieged Naples and Nice, and the Spaniards were at the ſame time diſperſed in Africa, in Hungary, in Italy, in Germany, in France, and in the Low Countries. All theſe people, inured and practiſed in arms, acquired great ſkill in the art of fighting and deſtroying each other with infallible regularity and preciſion.

It was religion that cauſed the Germans to contend with the Germans, the French with the French, but which more particularly excited Flanders againſt Spain. It was on the fens of Holland that all the rage of a bigoted and deſpotic king fell, of a ſuperſtitious and ſanguinary prince, of the two Philips, and of the duke of Alva. It was in the Low Countries that a republic aroſe from the perſecution of tyranny and the flames of the inquiſition. When freedom had broken her chains, and found an aſylum in the ocean, ſhe raiſed her bulwarks upon the continent. The Dutch firſt invented the art of fortifying places; ſo much do genius and invention belong to free minds. Their example was generally followed. Extenſive ſtates had only occaſion to fortify their frontiers. Germany and Italy, divided among a number of princes, were crowded with ſtrong citadels from one end to the other. When we travel through theſe countries, we meet every evening with gates ſhut and draw-bridges at the entrance of the towns.

While Naſſau, who had taken up arms to ſecure the independence of his country, was renewing the ſcience of fortification, the paſſion for glory ſtimulated Guſtavus Adolphus to inveſtigate, according to the maxims of the ancients, the principles of the military ſcience of the field, which were almoſt entirely loſt. He had the honour to diſcover, to apply, and to diffuſe them; but, if the moſt experienced judges may be credited,

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he did not introduce into thoſe principles the modifications which the difference of men's minds, of conſtitutions, and of arms, would have required. The perſons trained up under him, great captains as they were, could not venture to be more bold or more enlightened than himſelf; and this timid circumſpection prevented the alterations and improvements which might have been made. Coborn and Vauban alone inſtructed Europe in the art of defending, but eſpecially in that of attacking places. It happened, by one of thoſe contradictions which are ſometimes obſerved among nations, as well as among individuals, that the French, notwithſtanding their ardent and impetuous diſpoſition, appeared more expert in ſieges than any other nation; and that they ſeemed to acquire at the foot of the walls that patience and coolneſs, in which they are moſt commonly deficient in all other military operations.

The king of Pruſſia appeared, and with him a new order of things was introduced. Without ſuffering himſelf to be ſwayed by the authority of thoſe who had gone before him, this prince created a ſyſtem of tactics almoſt entirely new. He demonſtrated, that troops, however numerous, might be diſciplined and manœuvred; that the motions of the greateſt armies were not ſubject to calculations more complicated and leſs certain than thoſe of the moſt feeble corps; and that the ſame ſprings by which one battalion was put in motion, when properly managed, and put together by a great commander, might ſet a hundred thouſand men in motion. His genius ſuggeſted to him many ſcientific details, of which no man had previouſly entertained the leaſt idea; and by giving, in a manner, the advantage to the legs over the arms, he introduced into his evolutions, and into his marches, a celerity, which is become neceſſary, and almoſt deciſive, ſince armies have been unfortunately ſo much multiplied, and ſince they have been obliged to occupy a very extenſive front.

This prince, who, ſince Alexander, hath not had his

equal in hiſtory, for extent and variety of talents; who, without having been himſelf formed by Greeks, hath been able to form Lacedemonians; this monarch, in a word, who hath deſerved beyond all others that his name ſhould be recorded in his age, and who will have the glory, ſince it is one, of having carried the art of war to a degree of perfection, from which, fortunately, it cannot but degenerate. Frederic hath ſeen all Europe adopt his inſtitutions with enthuſiaſm. In imitation of the Roman people, who, by inſtructing themſelves at the ſchool of their enemies, learnt the art of reſiſting, of vanquiſhing, and of enſlaving them, the modern nations have endeavoured to follow the example of a neighbour, formidable by his military capacity, and who might become dangerous by his ſucceſs. But have they accompliſhed their deſign? Some external parts of his diſcipline have undoubtedly been imitated; but let us be allowed to doubt whether his great principles have been perfectly underſtood, thoroughly inveſtigated, and properly combined.

But even if this ſublime and terrible doctrine were become common among the powers, would it be equally uſeful to them all? The Pruſſians never loſe ſight of it one moment. They are ignorant of the intrigues of courts, the luxuries of cities, and the idleneſs of a country life. Their colours are their roofs, warlike ſongs their amuſements, the recital of their firſt exploits their converſation, and freſh laurels their only hope. Eternally under arms, eternally in exerciſe, they have perpetually before them the image, and almoſt the reality, of a prudent and obſtinate war, whether they be collected together in camps, or diſperſed in garriſons.

Military men of all countries, draw the contraſt between this deſcription and that of your education, of your laws, and of your manners, and compare yourſelves to ſuch men, if you can. I will allow that the ſound of the trumpet may rouſe you from your lethargy, from balls, from public amuſements; and that, from the arms of your miſtreſſes, you may ruſh with

BOOK XIX. eagerneſs into danger. But will a tranſient ardour ſupply the place of that vigilance, of that activity, of that application, and of that foreſight, which can alone determine the operations of a war or of a campaign? Will a body, enervated by effeminate habits, reſiſt the horrors of famine, the rigour of ſeaſons, and the diverſity of climates? Will a mind, ruled by the taſte for pleaſure, bend itſelf to regular, profound, and ſerious reflections? In a heart replete with various and frivolous objects, will not one of them be found which may be incompatible with courage? On the borders of the Po, of the Rhine, and of the Danube, in the midſt of thoſe deſtructions and ravages which always attend upon his ſteps, will not the Frenchman, covered with duſt, his ſtrength exhauſted, and deſtitute of every thing, turn his ſorrowful eyes towards the ſmiling borders of the Loire or of the Seine? Will he not ſigh after thoſe ingenious diverſions, thoſe tender connections, thoſe charming ſocieties, and after thoſe voluptuous delights of every kind which he hath left there, and which await him at his return? Imbued with the abſurd and unfortunate prejudice, that war, which is a profeſſion for other nations, is only a rank or condition of life to him, will he not quit the camp as ſoon as he ſhall think he can do it without expoſing his reputation too openly? If example, or circumſtances, do not allow him to follow his inclination, will he not exhauſt in a few months the income of ten years, to change a foraging party into a party of pleaſure, or to diſplay his luxury at the head of the trenches? The diſlike of his duties, and his indifference for public affairs, will they not expoſe him to the ridicule of an enemy, who may have different principles and a different rule of conduct?

It is not to the king of Pruſſia, but to Lewis XIV. that we muſt attribute that prodigious number of troops, which preſents us with the idea of war, even in the midſt of peace. By keeping always numerous armies on foot, that proud monarch obliged his neighbours or his enemies, to exert efforts nearly ſimilar,

The contagion ſpread itſelf even among the princes who were too weak to raiſe diſturbances, and too poor to keep them up. They ſold the blood of their ſubjects to the greater powers; and the number of ſoldiers was gradually raiſed in Europe to two millions.

The barbarous ages are ſpoken of with horror; and yet war was then only a period of violence and of commotions, but at preſent it is almoſt a natural ſtate. Moſt governments are either military, or become ſo; even the improvement in our diſcipline is a proof of it. The ſecurity we enjoy in our fields, the tranquillity that prevails in our cities, whether troops are paſſing through, or are quartered in them; the police which reigns around the camps, and in garriſoned towns, proclaim indeed that arms are under ſome kind of controul, but at the ſame time indicate that every thing is ſubject to their power.

Fortunately, the hoſtilities of our days do not reſemble thoſe of former times. At thoſe diſtant periods, the conquered provinces were laid waſte, the towns ſubdued were reduced to aſhes, the vanquiſhed citizens were either put to death, or reduced to ſervitude. At preſent, war is much leſs cruel. When the battle is at an end, no more atrocious acts are committed; the priſoners are taken care of; the cities are no more deſtroyed, nor the countries ravaged. The contributions exacted from a ſubdued people ſcarce amount to as much as they paid for taxes before their misfortunes; and when they are reſtored by peace to their former maſters, no alteration appears in their ſituation. When treaties inſure their ſubmiſſion to the conqueror, they enjoy the ſame advantages as all the other ſubjects, and ſometimes even ſeveral very important prerogatives. Accordingly, the nations, even thoſe which are the leaſt enlightened, ſhow very little concern for theſe diſſenſions between princes; they conſider thoſe quarrels as diſputes between one government and another; and they would behold theſe events with total indifference, were they not obliged to pay the mercenaries employed to ſupport the am-

BOOK IX. bition, the turbulence, or the caprices of a tyrannical maſter.

Theſe mercenaries are very ill paid. They coſt the nation four or five times leſs than the meanest mechanic. They receive no more than what is abſolutely neceſſary to keep them from ſtarving. Notwithſtanding this, the troops, the generals, the fortified places, the artillery, and the inſtruments of war, have been multiplied to ſuch a degree, that the maintenance of them hath driven the people to deſpair. In order to provide for theſe expences, it hath been neceſſary to overburden all the claſſes of ſociety, which, preſſing one upon another, muſt cruſh the loweſt and the moſt uſeful of them, that of the huſbandman. The increaſe of taxes, and the difficulty of collecting them, deſtroy, through want or diſtreſs, thoſe very families which are the parents and nurſeries of the armies.

If an univerſal oppreſſion be the firſt inconvenience ariſing from the increaſe of ſoldiers, their idleneſs is a ſecond. Let them be inceſſantly employed, but not to exceſs, as ſoon as the din of war ſhall no longer be heard, and their morals will be leſs diſſolute, leſs contagious; the ſtrength neceſſary to bear the fatigues of their profeſſion will always be preſerved, and their health will ſeldom be affected; they will no more be conſumed by hunger, tedium, or affliction; deſertions and quarrels will no more be common among them, and they may ſtill be uſeful to ſociety after the time of their ſervice ſhall be expired. For a moderate increaſe of their pay, they will cheerfully make the roads over which they are to march; they will level the mountains they are to climb up; they will fortify the towns they are to defend; they will dig the canals from whence they are to derive their ſubſiſtence; they will improve the ports in which they are to embark; they will deliver the people from the moſt cruel and the moſt ignominious of all vexations, the labours of vaſſalage. After having expiated, by uſeful labours, the misfortune of being devoted, by their condition,

to deſolate the earth, and to maſſacre the inhabitants, they will perhaps ceaſe to be deteſted; they will perhaps one day attain the honour of being conſidered in the light of citizens.

The Romans were acquainted with theſe truths, and had made them the baſis of their conduct. How is it come to paſs that we, who were formerly the ſlaves, and who are become at preſent the diſciples of theſe maſters of the world, have deviated ſo much from this important object of their principles? It is becauſe Europe hath believed, and doth ſtill believe, that men who are deſtined to handle arms, and to gather laurels, would be degraded by uſing inſtruments which are only in the hands of the loweſt claſs of the people. How long will this abſurd prejudice, formed in barbarous times, ſubſiſt? How long ſhall we ſtill remain in the twelfth century?

A third inconvenience ariſing from the increaſe of ſoldiers, is a decreaſe of courage. Few men are born fit for war. If we except Lacedæmon and Rome, where women who were citizens, and free, brought forth ſoldiers; where children were lulled to ſleep by, and awakened with the ſound of trumpets and ſongs of war; where education rendered men unnatural, and made them beings of a different ſpecies: all other nations have only had a few brave men among them. And, indeed, the leſs troops are raiſed, the better will they be. In the earlier ages of our anceſtors, who were leſs civilized, but ſtronger than we are, armies were much leſs numerous than ours, but engagements were more deciſive. It was neceſſary to be a noble or a rich man to ſerve in the army, which was looked upon both as an honour and a privilege. None but volunteers entered into the ſervice. All their engagements ended with the campaign; and any man who diſliked the art of war was at liberty to withdraw. Beſides, there was then more of that ardour, and of that pride of ſentiment, which conſtitutes true courage. At preſent, what glory is there in ſerving under abſolute commanders, who judge of men by their ſize, eſtimate

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them by their pay, enlift them by force or by ftratagem, and keep or difcharge them without their conſent, as they have taken them? What honour is there in aſpiring to the command of armies under the baneful influence of courts, where every thing is given or taken away without reaſon; where men without merit are raiſed, and others, though innocent, are degraded by mere caprice; where the department of war is intruſted to a favourite, who hath not diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon any occaſion, and to whom the art of war is unknown both in theory and practice; where a favourite miſtreſs marks with patches, upon a map ſpread out upon her toilet, the rout which the army is to take; or where it is neceſſary to ſend to ſolicit permiſſion at court before a battle can be given; a fatal delay, during which time the enemy may have changed his poſition, and the moment of victory be loſt; where a general, without the conſent of the prince, hath ſometimes been commanded, under pain of diſgrace, to ſuffer himſelf to be beaten; where jealouſy, hatred, and a variety of other motives equally deteſtable, fruſtrate the hopes of a fortunate campaign; where, either through negligence or inability, camps are ſuffered to want proviſions, forage, or ammunition; where the perſon who is to obey, to march, or to ſtop, to execute the motions concerted, betrays his commander, and ſets diſcipline at defiance, without endangering his life? Accordingly, except in riſing empires, or in the inſtant of a criſis, the greater number there are of ſoldiers in the ſtate, the more is the nation weakened; and in proportion as a ſtate is enfeebled, the number of its ſoldiers is increaſed.

A fourth inconvenience is, that the increaſe of ſoldiers tends to deſpotiſm. A number of troops, towns well fortified, magazines and arſenals, may prevent invaſions; but while they preſerve a people from the irruptions of a conqueror, they do not ſecure them from the encroachments of a deſpotic prince. Such a number of ſoldiers ſerve only to keep thoſe who are already ſlaves in chains. The tyrant then prevails, and

makes every thing conform to his will, as every thing is ſubſervient to his power. By the force of arms alone, he ſets the opinions of men at defiance, and controuls their will. By the aſſiſtance of ſoldiers he levies taxes; and by theſe he raiſes ſoldiers. He imagines that his authority is ſhown and exerciſed, by deſtroying what he hath formed; but his exertions are vain and fruitleſs. He is perpetually renewing his forces, without being ever able to recover the national ſtrength. In vain do his ſoldiers keep his people in continual war; if his ſubjects tremble at his troops, his troops in return will fly from the enemy. But in theſe circumſtances, the loſs of a battle is that of a kingdom. The minds of all men being alienated, they voluntarily ſubmit to a foreign yoke; becauſe, under the dominion of a conqueror, hope is ſtill left; while, under that of a deſpot, nothing remains but fear. When the progreſs of the military government hath introduced deſpotiſm, then the nation exiſts no more. The ſoldiery ſoon becomes inſolent and deteſted. Barrenneſs, occaſioned by wretchedneſs and debauchery, is the cauſe of the extinction of families. A ſpirit of diſcord and hatred prevails among all orders of men, who are either corrupted or diſgraced. Societies betray, ſell, and plunder each other, and give themſelves up, one after another, to the ſcourges of the tyrant, who plunders, oppreſſes, deſtroys, and annihilates them all. Such is the end of that art of war, which paves the way for a military government. Let us now conſider what influence the navy has.

The ancients have tranſmitted to us almoſt all thoſe arts that have been revived with the reſtoration of letters; but we have ſurpaſſed them in the military management of the navy. Tyre and Sidon, Carthage and Rome, ſcarce knew any ſea but the Mediterranean; to ſail through which it was only neceſſary to have rafts, galleys, and men to row them. Sea engagements might then be bloody; but it required no great ſkill to conſtruct and equip the fleets. To paſs from Europe into Africa, it was only neceſſary to

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be ſupplied with boats, which may be called flat bottomed ones, which tranſmitted Carthaginians or Romans, the only people almoſt who were engaged in ſea fights. Commerce was, fortunately, a greater object of attention to the Athenians, and the republics of Aſia, than victories at ſea.

After theſe famous nations had abandoned both the land and the ſea to plunderers and to pirates, the navy remained, during twelve centuries, equally neglected with all the other arts. Thoſe ſwarms of barbarians, who over-ran and totally deſtroyed Rome in its declining ſtate, came from the Baltic upon rafts or canoes, to ravage and plunder our ſea-coaſts, without going far from the continent. Theſe were not voyages, but deſcents upon the coaſt, that were continually renewed. The Danes and Normans were not armed for a cruize, and ſcarce knew how to fight but upon land.

At length, chance or the Chineſe ſupplied the Europeans with the compaſs, and this was the cauſe of the diſcovery of America. The needle, which taught ſailors to know how far they were diſtant from the north, or how near they approached to it, emboldened them to attempt longer voyages, and to loſe ſight of land for whole months together. Geometry and aſtronomy taught them how to compute the progreſs of the conſtellations, to determine the longitude by them, and to judge pretty nearly how far they were advancing to the eaſt and weſt. Even at that time, the height and the diſtance of veſſels from the coaſt might always have been known. Though the knowledge of the longitude be much more inaccurate than that of the latitude, yet they both ſoon occaſioned ſuch improvement to be made in navigation, as to give riſe to the art of carrying on war by ſea. The firſt eſſay, however, of this art was made between galleys that were in poſſeſſion of the Mediterranean. The moſt celebrated engagement of the modern navy was that of Lepanto, which was fought two centuries ago, between two hundred and five Chriſtians, and two

hundred and ſixty Turkiſh galleys. This prodigious armament was entirely conſtructed in Italy; a country from which almoſt every invention of art has been derived, though not preſerved in it. But at that time, its trade, its population, were double what they are at preſent. Beſides, thoſe galleys were neither ſo long nor ſo large as thoſe of our times, as we may judge from ſome of the old carcaſes that are ſtill preſerved in the arſenal of Venice. The number of rowers amounted to one hundred and fifty, and the troops did not exceed fourſcore men in one galley. At preſent, Venice hath more beautiful galleys, and leſs influence, upon that ſea which the doge marries, and which other powers frequent and trade upon.

Galleys, indeed, were proper for criminals; but ſtronger veſſels were required for ſoldiers. The art of conſtructing ſhips improved with that of navigation. Philip II. king of all Spain, and of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, employed all the docks of Spain and Portugal, of Naples and Sicily, which he then poſſeſſed, in conſtructing ſhips of an extraordinary ſize and ſtrength; and his fleet aſſumed the title of the Invincible Armada. It conſiſted of one hundred and thirty ſhips, near one hundred of which were the largeſt that had yet been ſeen on the ocean. Twenty ſmall ſhips followed this fleet, and ſailed or fought under its protection. The pride of the Spaniards, in the ſixteenth century, hath dwelt very much upon, and exaggerated the pompous deſcription of this formidable armament. But a circumſtance which diffuſed terror and admiration two centuries ago, would now ſerve only to excite laughter. The largeſt of thoſe ſhips would be no more than a third-rate in our ſquadrons. They were ſo heavily armed, and ſo ill managed, that they could ſcarce move, or ſail near the wind, nor board another veſſel, nor could the ſhip be properly worked in tempeſtuous weather. The ſailors were as awkward as the ſhips were heavy, and the pilots almoſt as ignorant as the ſailors.

The Engliſh, who were already acquainted with the

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weakneſs and little ſkill of their enemies at ſea, concluded that inexperience would occaſion their defeat. They carefully avoided boarding theſe unwieldy machines, and burned a part of them. Some of theſe enormous galleons were taken, others diſabled. A ſtorm aroſe, in which moſt of the ſhips loſt their anchors, and were abandoned by their crews to the fury of the waves, and caſt away, ſome upon the weſtern coaſts of Scotland, others upon the coaſts of Ireland. Scarce one half of this invincible fleet was able to return to Spain, where the damages it had ſuffered, joined to the terror of the ſailors, ſpread a general conſternation, from which Spain has never recovered. The Spaniards were for ever depreſſed by the loſs of an armament that had coſt three years preparation, and upon which all the forces and revenues of the kingdom had been almoſt exhauſted.

The deſtruction of the Spaniſh navy occaſioned the dominion of the ſea to paſs into the hands of the Dutch. The pride of their former tyrants could not be more ſignally puniſhed than by the proſperity of a people, forced by oppreſſion to break the yoke of regal authority. When this republic began to emerge from its fens, the reſt of Europe was embroiled in civil wars by the ſpirit of fanaticiſm. Perſecution drove men into Holland from all other ſtates. The inquiſition which the Houſe of Auſtria wiſhed to extend over all parts of its dominions; the perſecution which Henry II. raiſed in France; the emiſſaries of Rome, who were ſupported in England by Mary; every thing, in a word, concurred to people Holland with an immenſe number of refugees. This country had neither lands nor harveſt for their ſubſiſtence. They were obliged to ſeek it by ſea throughout the whole univerſe. Almoſt all the commerce of Europe was engroſſed by Liſbon, Cadiz, and Antwerp, under one ſovereign, whoſe power and ambition rendered him a general object of hatred and envy. The new republicans having eſcaped his tyranny, and being excited by reſentment and neceſſity, became pirates, and form-

ed a navy at the expence of the Spaniards and Portugueſe, whom they held in utter averſion. France and England, who, in the progreſs of this riſing republic, only perceived the humiliation of the Houſe of Auſtria, aſſiſted Holland in preſerving the conqueſts and ſpoils ſhe had made, the value of which ſhe was yet unacquainted with. Thus the Dutch ſecured to themſelves eſtabliſhments wherever they choſe to direct their forces; fixed themſelves in theſe acquiſitions before the jealouſy of other nations could be excited, and imperceptibly made themſelves maſters of all commerce by their induſtry, and of all the ſeas by the ſtrength of their ſquadrons. BOOK XIX.

The domeſtic troubles in England were for a while favourable to this proſperity, which had been ſo ſilently acquired in remote countries. But at length Cromwell excited in his country an emulation for commerce, ſo natural to the inhabitants of an iſland. To ſhare the empire of the ſeas with the Engliſh, was, in fact, to give it up to them; and the Dutch were determined to maintain it. Inſtead of forming an alliance with England, they courageouſly reſolved upon war. They carried it on for a long time with unequal force; and this perſeverance againſt misfortune preſerved to them, at leaſt, an honourable rivalſhip. Superiority in the conſtruction and form of the ſhips often gave the victory to their enemies; but the vanquiſhed never met with any deciſive loſſes.

In the meanwhile, theſe long and dreadful combats had exhauſted, or at leaſt diminiſhed, the ſtrength of the two nations, when Lewis XIV. willing to avail himſelf of their mutual weakneſs, aſpired to the empire of the ſea. When this prince firſt aſſumed the reins of government, he found only eight or nine veſſels in his harbours, and thoſe very much decayed; neither were they ſhips of the firſt or ſecond rate. Richelieu had perceived the neceſſity of raiſing a pier before Rochelle, but not of forming a navy; the idea of which muſt, however, have been conceived by Henry IV. and his friend Sully. But it was reſerved to

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the moſt brilliant age of the French nation to give birth to every improvement at once. Lewis, who conceived, at leaſt, all the ideas of grandeur he did not himſelf ſuggeſt, inſpired his ſubjects with the ſame paſſion which prevailed in him. Five ports were opened to the military navy. Docks and arſenals, equally convenient and magnificent, were conſtructed. The art of ſhip-building, ſtill very imperfect everywhere, was eſtabliſhed upon more certain principles. A ſet of naval regulations much ſuperior to thoſe of the other nations, and which they have ſince adopted, obtained the ſanction of the laws. Seamen emerged from the midſt of the ocean, as it were, already formed. In leſs than twenty years the harbours of the kingdom reckoned one hundred ſhips of the line.

The French navy firſt exerted its power againſt the people of Barbary, who were beaten. It afterwards obtained ſome advantages over the Spaniards. It then engaged the fleets of England and Holland, ſometimes ſeparately and ſometimes combined, and generally obtained the honour and advantage of the victory. The firſt memorable defeat the French navy experienced was in 1692, when with forty ſhips they attacked ninety Engliſh and Dutch ſhips oppoſite La Hogue, in order to give the Engliſh a king they rejected, and who was not himſelf very deſirous of the title. The moſt numerous fleet obtained the victory. James the Second felt an involuntary pleaſure at the triumph of the people who expelled him; as if at this inſtant the blind love of his country had prevailed within him, over his ambition for the throne. Since that day the naval powers of France have been upon the decline, and it was impoſſible that they ſhould not be.

Lewis XIV. accuſtomed to carry on his enterpriſes with more haughtineſs than method, more ambitious of appearing powerful than of being really ſo, had begun by completing the higher parts of his military navy before he had ſettled its foundation. The only ſolid baſis which could have been given to it would have been an extenſive commercial navy, carried on with

activity; and there was not even the ſhadow of ſuch a thing exiſting in the kingdom. The trade with the Eaſt Indies was ſtill in its infancy. The Dutch had appropriated to themſelves the ſmall quantity of commodities which the American iſlands then produced. The French had not yet thought of giving to the great fiſheries that degree of extenſion of which they were ſuſceptible. There were no French veſſels admitted in the northern harbours, and the ſouthern very ſeldom ſaw any. The ſtate had even given up its coaſting trade to foreigners. Was it not therefore unavoidable, that this coloſſus ſhould be overturned, and the illuſion diſſipated upon the firſt remarkable check which this proud diſplay of power ſhould receive? BOOK XIX.

From that period England acquired a ſuperiority, which hath raiſed her to the greateſt proſperity. A people, who are at preſent the moſt conſiderable power at ſea, eaſily perſuade themſelves that they have always holden that empire. Sometimes they trace their maritime power to the era of Julius Cæſar; ſometimes they aſſert that they have ruled over the ocean, at leaſt, ſince the ninth century. Perhaps, ſome day or other, the Corſicans, who are at preſent a nation of little conſequence, when they are become a maritime people, will record in their annals that they have always ruled over the Mediterranean. Such is the vanity of man, which muſt endeavour to aggrandize itſelf in paſt as well as future ages. Truth alone, which exiſts before all nations, and ſurvives them all, informs us, that there hath been no navy in Europe from the Chriſtian era till the 16th century. The Engliſh themſelves had no need of it, while they remained in poſſeſſion of Normandy and of the coaſts of France.

When Henry VIII. was deſirous of equipping a fleet, he was obliged to hire veſſels from Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Dantzic; but eſpecially from Genoa and Venice, in which ſtates it was only known how to build and conduct a fleet; which ſupplied ſailors and admirals; and which gave to Europe a Columbus, an Americus, a Cabot, and a Verezani; thoſe wonderful

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men, who by their diſcoveries have added ſo much to the extent of the globe. Elizabeth was in want of a naval force againſt Spain, and permitted her ſubjects to fit out ſhips to act againſt the enemies of the ſtate. This permiſſion formed ſailors for the ſervice. The queen herſelf went to ſee a ſhip that had been round the world; on board of which ſhe embraced Drake, at the time ſhe knighted him. She left forty-two men of war to her ſucceſſors. James and Charles the Firſt added ſome ſhips to the naval forces they had received from the throne; but the commanders of this navy were choſen from the nobility, who, ſatisfied with this mark of diſtinction, left the labours to the pilots; ſo that the art of navigation received no improvements.

There were few noblemen in the party that dethroned the Stuarts. Ships of the line were at that time given to captains of inferior birth, but of uncommon ſkill in navigation. They improved, and rendered the Engliſh navy illuſtrious.

When Charles II. reaſcended the throne, the kingdom was poſſeſſed of ſix and fifty ſhips. The navy increaſed under his reign to the number of eighty-three, fifty-eight of which were ſhips of the line. Nevertheleſs, towards the latter days of this prince, it began to decline again. But his brother, James II. reſtored it to its former luſtre, and raiſed it even to a greater degree of ſplendour. Being himſelf high-admiral before he came to the throne, he had invented the art of regulating the manœuvres of the fleet, by the ſignals of the flag. Happy, if he had better underſtood the art of governing a free people! When the prince of Orange, his ſon-in-law, became poſſeſſed of his crown, the Engliſh navy conſiſted of one hundred and ſixty-three veſſels of all ſizes, armed with ſeven thouſand pieces of cannon, and equipped with forty-two thouſand men. This force was doubled during the war that was carried on for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. It hath ſince ſo conſiderably increaſed, that the Engliſh think they are able alone to balance, by their maritime forces, the navy of the whole univerſe. England is now

at ſea what Rome formerly was upon land, when ſhe began to decline. BOOK X.

The Engliſh nation conſiders its navy as the bulwark of its ſafety, and the ſource of its riches. On this they found all their hopes in times of peace as well as war. They therefore raiſe a fleet more willingly, and with greater expedition than a battalion. They ſpare no expence, and exert every political art to acquire ſeamen.

The foundations of this power were laid in the middle of the laſt century by the famous act of navigation, which ſecured to the Engliſh all the productions of their vaſt empire, and which promiſed them a great ſhare in thoſe of other regions. This law ſeemed to adviſe all people to think only of themſelves. This leſſon, however, hath been of no uſe hitherto; and no government hath made it the rule of their conduct. It is poſſible that the eyes of men may ſoon be opened; but Great Britain will however have enjoyed, during the ſpace of more than a century, the fruits of its foreſight; and will perhaps have acquired, during that long interval, ſufficient ſtrength to perpetuate her advantages. It may readily be ſuppoſed that ſhe is inclined to employ all poſſible means to prevent the exploſion of that mine which time is gradually and ſlowly digging under the foundation of her fortune, and to declare war againſt the firſt people who ſhall attempt to blow it up. Her formidable fleets impatiently expect the ſignal of hoſtilities. Their activity and their vigilance are redoubled, ſince it hath been decided that the prizes were to belong entirely to the officers and the crews of the victorious ſhip, ſince the ſtate hath granted a gratuity of one hundred and thirty-two livres ten ſols [5l. 10s. 5d.] to every perſon who ſhould board, take, or ſink, any of the enemy's ſhips. This allurement of gain will be increaſed, if it be neceſſary, by other rewards. Will the nations which are ſo habitually divided by their intereſts and by their jealouſies conſent together to ſuppreſs this boldneſs; and if

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one of them ſhould undertake it ſeparately, will it ſucceed in this terrible conflict?

The navy is a new ſpecies of power, which hath given the univerſe in ſome meaſure to Europe. This part of the globe, though ſo limited, hath acquired by its ſquadrons an abſolute empire over the reſt, which are much more extenſive. It hath ſeized upon thoſe regions that were ſuitable to it, and hath placed under its dependence the inhabitants and productions of all countries. A ſuperiority ſo advantageous will laſt for ever, unleſs ſome event, which it is impoſſible to foreſee, ſhould diſguſt our deſcendants of an element in which ſhipwrecks are ſo frequent. As long as they ſhall have any fleets remaining, they will pave the way for revolutions, they will draw along with them the deſtinies of nations, and they will be the levers of the world.

But it is not only to the extremities of the world, or in barbarous regions, that ſhips have carried terror, and dictated laws. Their influence hath been ſenſibly felt even in the midſt of ourſelves, and hath diſturbed the ancient ſyſtems of things. A new kind of equilibrium hath been formed, and the balance of power hath been transferred from the continent to the maritime nations. In proportion as the nature of their forces brought them nearer to all countries bordering upon the ocean and its ſeveral gulfs, ſo they have had it in their power to do good or miſchief to the greater number of ſtates; conſequently they muſt have had more allies, more conſideration, and more influence. Theſe advantages have been evident to the governments which, by their ſituation, were at hand to ſhare them; and there is ſcarce any one which hath not exerted greater or leſs efforts to ſucceed in it.

Since nature hath decided that men muſt be in perpetual agitation upon our planet, and that they ſhould continually diſturb it with their inquietude, it is a fortunate circumſtance for modern times, that the forces of the ſea ſhould make a diverſion from thoſe of the

land. A power which hath coaſts to protect will not BOOK XIX.
eaſily encroach upon the territories of its neighbours. It would require immenſe preparations, innumerable troops, arſenals of all kinds, and a double ſupply of means and of reſources to execute its project of conqueſt. Since Europe hath employed its forces on the ſea, it enjoys greater ſecurity than before. Its wars are perhaps as frequent and as bloody, but it is leſs ravaged and leſs weakened by them. The operations are carried on with greater harmony and with more regular plans; and there are leſs of thoſe great effects which derange all ſyſtems. There are greater efforts, and leſs ſhocks. All the paſſions are turned towards one certain general good, one grand political aim, towards a happy employment of all the natural and moral powers, which is commerce.

The importance to which the navy has ariſen will lead, in proceſs of time, every thing which has a greater or leſs diſtant affinity to it, to the degree of perfection it is ſuſceptible of: till the middle of the laſt century an uncertain routine was followed in the conſtruction of ſhips. *One knows not what the ſea requires*, was ſtill a common proverb. At this period geometry carried its attention to this art, which was becoming every day more intereſting, and applied to it ſome of its principles. Since that, its attention has been more ſeriouſly engaged, and always with ſucceſs. Matters, however, are ſtill far from being brought to demonſtration; for there is ſtill great variety in the dimenſions adopted in the different docks.

In proportion as the navy became a ſcience, it became a neceſſary object of ſtudy to thoſe who engaged in this profeſſion. They were made to underſtand, though very ſlowly, that thoſe commanders who had general ideas, founded upon mathematical rules, would have a great ſuperiority over officers, who, having nothing but habit to lead them, could only judge of the things they had to do from their analogy to thoſe which they had already ſeen. Schools were opened

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on all ſides, where young men were inſtructed in naval tactics, and in other knowledge of equal importance.

This was ſomething, but it was not all. In a profeſſion where the diſpoſition of the ſea and of the currents, the motion of the ſhips, the ſtrength and variety of the winds, the frequent accidents from fire, the ordinary breaking of the ſails and ropes, and many other circumſtances, infinitely multiply the plans; where, in the midſt of the noiſe of cannon, and of the greateſt dangers, one muſt inſtantly take a reſolution which ſhall determine at once either victory or defeat; where the evolutions muſt be ſo rapid, that they ſeem rather to be the effect of ſentiment than the reſult of reflection: in ſuch a profeſſion, the moſt learned theory cannot be ſufficient. Deprived of that certain and ſpeedy effect of ſight which practice, and that the moſt conſtant, can only give, it would loſe in reflection the time for action. Experience muſt therefore complete the ſeaman, whoſe education hath been begun by the ſtudy of the exact ſciences. In proceſs of time, this union of theory with practice muſt prevail in every place where there are navigators, but nowhere more ſpeedily than in an iſland, becauſe arts are ſooner brought to perfection, wherever they are of indiſpenſable neceſſity.

For the ſame reaſon, in an iſland there will be better ſailors, and more of them; but will they be treated with that juſtice and humanity which is due to them? Let us ſuppoſe that one of them, who hath fortunately eſcaped from the devouring heats of the line, from the horror of ſtorms, and from the intemperature of climates, returns from a voyage of ſeveral years, and from the extremities of the globe. His wife expects him with impatience; his children are anxious to ſee a father whoſe name hath been repeated to them a multitude of times; he himſelf ſooths his anxiety by the pleaſing hope that he ſhall ſoon ſee again what is moſt dear to him in the world, and anticipates by his wiſhes the delightful moment when his

heart will be comforted in the tender embraces of his family. All at once, at the approach of the ſhore, within ſight of his country, he is forcibly taken out of the ſhip in which he had braved the fury of the waves in order to enrich his fellow-citizens, and is put, by a ſet of infamous ſatellites, on board of a fleet, where thirty or forty thouſand of his brave companions are to ſhare his misfortunes, till the end of hoſtilities. In vain do their tears flow, in vain do they appeal to the laws; their deſtiny is irrevocably fixed. This is a feeble image of the atrociouſneſs of the Engliſh mode of preſſing.

In our abſolute governments another mode is adopted; perhaps, in fact, as cruel, though apparently more moderate. The ſailor is there inliſted, and for life. He is employed or diſbanded at pleaſure; his pay is regulated by caprice, which alſo fixes the period when he ſhall receive it. Both in time of peace, as in time of war, he hath never any will of his own, but is always under the rod of a ſubaltern deſpot, moſt commonly unjuſt, cruel, and intereſted. The greateſt difference I can obſerve between theſe two modes is, that the former is only a temporary ſervitude, the latter is a ſlavery which hath no end.

Nevertheleſs, we ſhall find ſome apologiſts, and perhaps ſome admirers, of theſe inhuman cuſtoms. It will be ſaid, that, in a ſtate of ſociety, the wills of individuals muſt always be ſubject to the general will; and that their convenience muſt always be ſacrificed to the public good. Such hath been the practice of all nations and of all ages. It is upon this baſis alone that all inſtitutions, ill or well planned, have been founded. They will never deviate from this central point, without haſtening the inevitable period of their ruin.

Undoubtedly the republic muſt be ſerved, and that by the citizens: but, is it not juſt that every one ſhould contribute to this ſervice, according to his means? In order to preſerve to the poſſeſſor of millions, often unjuſt, the entire enjoyment of his fortune and of his delights, muſt the unfortunate ſailor be obliged to ſacri-

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fice two-thirds of his ſalary, the wants of his family, and the moſt valuable of his property, his liberty? Would not the country be ſerved with more zeal, with more vigour and underſtanding, by men who ſhould voluntarily devote to it all the natural and moral powers they have acquired, or exerciſed, upon all the ſeas, than by ſlaves, who are neceſſarily and inceſſantly employed in attending to the breaking of their chains? Improperly will the adminiſtrators of empires allege, in juſtification of their atrocious conduct, that theſe navigators would refuſe to employ their hands, and exert their courage in engagements, if they were not dragged to them againſt their inclinations. Every circumſtance confirms that their moſt favourite object would be to follow their profeſſions; and it is demonſtrated, that even if they had any diſlike to it, ſtill their neceſſities, which are ever renewed, would compel them to attend to it.

But wherefore ſhould we not declare, that governments are as well convinced as thoſe who cenſure them, of the injuſtice they commit towards their ſailors? but they chooſe rather to erect tyranny into a principle, than to own that it is impoſſible for them to be juſt. In the preſent ſtate of things, all of them, and more eſpecially ſome, have raiſed their naval forces beyond what their circumſtances would allow. Their pride hath not yet ſuffered them to deſcend from that exaggerated grandeur with which they had intoxicated both themſelves and their neighbours. The time will come, however, and it cannot be very diſtant, when it will be neceſſary to proportion armaments to the reſources of an exhauſted treaſury. This will be a fortunate epocha for Europe, if it ſhould follow ſo bright an example. That part of the world which poſſeſſes at preſent three hundred and ninety-two ſhips of the line, and four times that number of ſhips of war of an inferior order, will derive great advantages from this revolution. The ocean will then be roughed with fewer fleets, and thoſe will conſiſt of a leſs number of ſhips. The mercantile navy will be enriched from the

military navy; and commerce will acquire a greater degree of extenſion throughout the whole univerſe. BOOK XIX.

Commerce produces nothing of itſelf; for it is not of a plaſtic nature. Its buſineſs conſiſts in exchanges. By its operations, a town, a province, a nation, a part of the globe, are diſencumbered of what is uſeleſs to them, and receive what they are in want of. It is perpetually engaged in ſupplying the reſpective wants of men. Its knowledge, its funds, and its labours, are all devoted to this honourable and neceſſary office. Its influence could not exiſt without the arts and without cultivation: but theſe would be very inſignificant without its influence. By pervading the earth, by croſſing the ſeas, by raiſing the obſtacles which oppoſed themſelves to the intercourſe of nations, by extending the ſphere of wants and the thirſt of enjoyments, it multiplies labour, it encourages induſtry, and becomes, in ſome meaſure, the moving principle of the world. Commerce.

The Phœnicians were the firſt merchants of whom hiſtory hath preſerved the remembrance. Situated on the borders of the ſea on the confines of Aſia and Africa, to receive and diſpenſe all the riches of the ancient world, they founded their colonies, and built their cities, with no other view but that of commerce. At Tyre, they were the maſters of the Mediterranean; at Carthage, they laid the foundations of a republic that traded, by the ocean, upon the richeſt of the European coaſts.

The Greeks ſucceeded the Phœnicians, as the Romans did the Carthaginians and the Greeks: they held the dominion of the ſea as well as of the land; but they carried on no other kind of commerce, except that of conveying into Italy, for their own uſe, all the riches of Africa, Aſia, and the conquered world. When Rome had invaded the whole world, and had loſt all her acquiſitions, commerce returned, as it were, to its original ſource towards the Eaſt. There it was eſtabliſhed, when the Barbarians overran Europe. The empire was divided; the din of arms, and the art of war, remained in the Weſt; Italy, however, preſerved

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its communication with the Levant, where all the treasures of India were circulated.

The Cruſades exhauſted in Aſia all the rage of zeal and ambition, of war and fanaticiſm, with which the Europeans were poſſeſſed; but they were the cauſe of introducing into Europe a taſte for Aſiatic luxury, and redeemed, by giving riſe to ſome degree of traffic and induſtry, the blood and the lives they had coſt. Three centuries, taken up in wars and voyages to the Eaſt, gave to the reſtleſs ſpirit of Europe a recruit it ſtood in need of, that it might not periſh by a kind of internal conſumption: they prepared the way for that exertion of genius and activity, which ſince aroſe, and diſplayed itſelf in the conqueſt and trade of the Eaſt Indies, and of America.

The Portugueſe attempted, by degrees, and with circumſpection, to double the African coaſt. It was not till after fourſcore years of labours and of war, and after having made themſelves maſters of all the weſtern coaſt of that vaſt region, that they ventured to double the Cape of Good Hope. The honour of clearing this formidable barrier was reſerved to Vaſco de Gama, in 1497, who at length reached the coaſt of Malabar, where all the treaſures of the moſt fertile countries of Aſia were to be circulated. This was the ſcene on which the Portugueſe diſplayed all their conqueſts.

While this nation made itſelf maſter of the articles of trade, the Spaniards ſeized upon that which purchaſes them, the mines of gold and ſilver. Theſe metals became not only a ſtandard to regulate the value, but alſo the object of commerce. In this double uſe they ſoon engroſſed all the reſt. All nations were in want of them to facilitate the exchange of their commodities, and obtain the conveniencies they ſtood in need of. The luxury and the circulation of money in the ſouth of Europe, changed the nature as well as the direction of commerce, at the ſame time that it extended its bounds.

In the meanwhile, the two nations that had ſubdued the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, neglected arts and

agriculture. They imagined every thing was to be obtained by gold, without conſidering that it is labour alone that procures it: they were convinced, though late, and at their own expence, that the induſtry which they loſt was more valuable than the riches they acquired; and the Dutch taught them this ſevere leſſon.

The Spaniards and the Portugueſe, though poſſeſſed of all the gold in the world, remained or became poor; the Dutch preſently acquired riches, without either lands or mines. As ſoon as theſe intrepid republicans had taken refuge in the midſt of the ſeas, with Liberty their tutelary divinity, they perceived that their moraſſes would never be any thing more than the ſeat of their habitation, and that they ſhould be obliged to ſeek reſources and ſubſiſtence elſewhere. They caſt their eyes over the globe, and ſaid to themſelves, "The whole world is our domain; we will enjoy it "by navigation and commerce. The revolutions "which ſhall happen upon this immenſe and perpe-"tually agitated ſcene, will never be concealed from "our knowledge. Indolence and activity, ſlavery "and independence, barbariſm and civilization, opu-"lence and poverty, culture and induſtry, purchaſes "and ſales, the vices and the virtues of men, we will "turn them all to our advantage. We will encourage "the labours of the nations, or we will impede their "proſperity; we will urge them on to war, or we will "endeavour to reſtore tranquillity among them, as it "may be moſt ſuitable to our own intereſts."

Till that period, Flanders had been the centre of communication between the north and the ſouth of Europe. The United Provinces of Holland, which had detached themſelves from it in order to belong only to themſelves, took its place, and became, in their turn, the ſtaple of all the powers which had more or leſs exchanges to make.

The ambition of the new republic was limited to this firſt advantage. After having drawn into its ports the productions of other countries, its navigators went themſelves in queſt of them. Holland ſoon became

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an immenſe magazine, where all the productions of the ſeveral climates were collected; and this union of ſo many important objects increaſed continually, in proportion as the wants of the people were multiplied, with the means of ſatisfying them. One merchandiſe attracted another. The commodities of the Old World invited thoſe of the New. One purchaſer brought another; and the treaſures already acquired became a certain method of acquiring more.

Every circumſtance was favourable to the riſe and progreſs of the commerce of this republic. Its poſition on the borders of the ſea, at the mouths of ſeveral great rivers; its proximity to the moſt fertile or beſt cultivated lands of Europe; its natural connections with England and Germany, which defended it againſt France; the little extent and fertility of its own ſoil, which obliged the inhabitants to become fiſhermen, ſailors, brokers, bankers, carriers, and commiſſaries; in a word, to endeavour to live by induſtry for want of territory. Moral cauſes contributed, with thoſe of the climate and the ſoil, to eſtabliſh and advance its proſperity. The liberty of its government, which opened an aſylum to all ſtrangers diſſatisfied with their own; the freedom of its religion, which permitted a public and quiet profeſſion of all other modes of worſhip; that is to ſay, the agreement of the voice of nature with that of conſcience, of intereſts with duty; in a word, that toleration, that univerſal religion of all equitable and enlightened minds, friends to heaven and earth; to God, as to their father; to men, as to their brethren. Finally, this commercial republic found out the ſecret of availing itſelf of all events, and of making even the calamities and vices of other nations concur in advancing its felicity. It turned to its own advantage the civil wars which fanaticiſm had raiſed among people of a reſtleſs ſpirit, or which patriotiſm had excited among a free people; it profited by the indolence and ignorance which bigotry ſupported among two nations who were under the influence of the imagination.

This ſpirit of induſtry in Holland, with which was intermixed a conſiderable ſhare of that political art which ſows the ſeeds of jealouſy and diſcord among the nations, at length excited the attention of other powers. The Engliſh were the firſt to perceive that traffic might be carried on without the interpoſition of the Dutch. England, where the encroachments of deſpotiſm had given birth to liberty, becauſe they were antecedent to corruption and effeminacy, was deſirous of obtaining riches by labour, which is their antidote. The Engliſh firſt conſidered commerce as the proper ſcience and ſupport of an enlightened, powerful, and even a virtuous people. They conſidered it rather as an improvement of induſtry than an acquiſition of enjoyments; rather as an encouragement and a ſource of activity in favour of population, than as a promoter of luxury and magnificence, for the purpoſe of parade. Invited to trade by their ſituation, this became the ſpirit of their government and the means of their ambition. All their ſchemes tended to this great object. In other monarchies, trade is carried on by the people; in this happy conſtitution by the ſtate, or the whole nation: ſhe carries it on indeed with a conſtant deſire of dominion, which implies that of enſlaving other people, but by means, at leaſt, which conſtitute the happineſs of the world before it is ſubdued. By war, the conqueror is little happier than the conquered, becauſe injuries and maſſacres are their mutual object; but by commerce, the conquering people neceſſarily introduce induſtry into the country, which they would not have ſubdued if it had been already induſtrious, or in which they would not maintain themſelves, if they had not brought induſtry in along with them. Upon theſe principles England had founded her commerce and her empire, and mutually and alternately extended one by the other. BOOK XIX.

The French, ſituated under as favourable a ſky, and upon as happy a ſoil, have, for a long time, flattered themſelves with the idea that they had much to give to other nations, without being under a neceſſity of

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aſking ſcarce any return. But Colbert was ſenſible that in the ferment Europe was in at that time, there would be an evident advantage for the culture and productions of a country that ſhould employ thoſe of the whole world. He opened manufactures for all the arts, the woollens, ſilks, dyes, embroideries, the gold and ſilver ſtuffs; all acquired, in the eſtabliſhments the operations of which he directed, a degree of perfection, which the other manufactures could not attain. To increaſe the utility of theſe arts, it was neceſſary to poſſeſs the materials for them. The culture of them was encouraged according to the diverſity of climates and territory. Some of them were required even of the provinces of the kingdom, and the reſt from the colonies which chance had given it in the New World, as well as from all the navigators who had for a century paſt infeſted the ſeas with their robberies. The nation muſt then neceſſarily have made a double profit upon the materials and the workmanſhip of the manufactures. The French purſued, for a long time, this precarious and temporary object of commerce, with an activity and ſpirit of emulation which muſt have made them greatly ſurpaſs their rivals; and they ſtill enjoy that ſuperiority over other nations in all thoſe arts of luxury and ornament which procure riches to induſtry.

The natural volatility of the national character, and its propenſity to trifling purſuits, hath brought treaſures to the ſtate, by the taſte that has fortunately prevailed for its faſhions. Like to that light and delicate ſex, which teaches and inſpires us with a taſte for dreſs, the French reign in all courts, and in all regions, reſpecting every thing that concerns ornament or magnificence; and their art of pleaſing is one of the myſterious ſources of their fortune and power. Other nations have ſubdued the world by thoſe ſimple and ruſtic manners, which conſtitute the virtues that are fit for war; to them it was given to reign over it by their vices. Their empire will continue, till being degraded and enſlaved by their maſters, by exertions

of authority equally arbitrary and unlimited, they will become contemptible in their own eyes. Then they will loſe, with their confidence in themſelves, that induſtry, which is one of the ſources of their opulence and of the ſprings of their activity. BOOK XIX.

Germany, which hath only a few ports, and thoſe bad ones, hath been obliged to behold, with an indifferent or a jealous eye, its ambitious neighbours enriching themſelves with the ſpoils of the ſea, and of the Eaſt and the Weſt Indies. Its induſtry hath been reſtrained even upon its frontiers, which were perpetually ravaged by deſtructive wars, and as far as into the interior part of its provinces, by the nature of its conſtitution, which is ſingularly complicated. A great deal of time, extenſive knowledge, and conſiderable efforts, would be requiſite, to eſtabliſh a commerce of any importance in a region where every thing ſeemed unfavourable to it. This period, however, is now at hand. Flax and hemp are already induſtriouſly cultivated, and appear under agreeable forms. Wool and cotton are wrought with ſkill; and other manufactures are begun or improved. If, as the laborious and ſteady character of the inhabitants induces us to hope, the empire ſhould ever attain to the advantage of paying, with its own productions and manufactures, for thoſe which it is obliged to provide itſelf with from other nations, and to preſerve within itſelf the metals which are extracted from its mines, it will ſoon become one of the moſt opulent countries of Europe.

It would be abſurd to announce ſo brilliant a deſtiny to the northern nations, although commerce hath alſo begun to meliorate their condition. The iron of their rude climate, which formerly ſerved only for their mutual deſtruction, hath been turned to uſes beneficial to mankind; and part of that which they uſed to deliver in its rough ſtate, is never ſold at preſent till after it hath been wrought. They have found a mart for their naval ſtores at a higher price than they were formerly ſold for, before navigation had acquired that prodigious extenſion which aſtoniſhes us. If ſome

BOOK XIX. of theſe people indolently wait for purchaſers in their harbours, others carry out their productions themſelves into foreign ports; and this activity extends their ideas, their tranſactions, and their advantages.

This new principle of the moral world hath inſinuated itſelf by degrees, till it is become, as it were, neceſſary to the formation and exiſtence of political bodies. The taſte for luxury and conveniencies hath produced the love of labour, which at preſent conſtitutes the chief ſtrength of a ſtate. The ſedentary occupations of the mechanic arts indeed render men more liable to be affected by the injuries of the ſeaſons, leſs fit to be expoſed to the open air, which is the firſt nutritive principle of life. But ſtill it is better that the human race ſhould be enervated under the roofs of the workſhops, than inured to hardſhips under tents; becauſe war deſtroys, while commerce, on the contrary, gives new life to every thing. By this uſeful revolution in manners, the general maxims of politics have altered the face of Europe. It is no longer a people immerſed in poverty that becomes formidable to a rich nation. Power is at preſent an attendant on riches, becauſe they are no longer the fruit of conqueſt, but the produce of conſtant labour, and of a life ſpent in perpetual employment. Gold and ſilver corrupt only thoſe indolent minds which indulge in the delights of luxury, upon that ſtage of intrigue and meanneſs, that is called greatneſs. But theſe metals employ the hands and arms of the people; they excite a ſpirit of agriculture in the fields, of navigation in the maritime cities, and in the centre of the ſtate they lead to the manufacturing of arms, clothing, furniture, and the conſtruction of buildings. A ſpirit of emulation exiſts between man and nature: they are perpetually improving each other. The people are formed and faſhioned by the arts they profeſs. If there be ſome occupations which ſoften and degrade the human race, there are others by which it is hardened and repaired. If it be true that art renders them unnatural, they do not, at leaſt, propagate in order to deſtroy themſelves,

as among the barbarous nations in heroic times. It is certainly an eaſy, as well as a captivating ſubject, to deſcribe the Romans with the ſingle art of war ſubduing all the other arts, all other nations indolent or commercial, civilized or ſavage; breaking or deſpiſing the vaſes of Corinth; more happy with their gods made of clay, than with the golden ſtatues of their worthleſs emperors. But it is a more pleaſing, and perhaps a nobler ſight, to behold all Europe peopled with laborious nations, who are continually ſailing round the globe, in order to cultivate and render it fit for mankind; to ſee them animate, by the enlivening breath of induſtry, all the regenerating powers of nature; ſeek in the abyſs of the ocean, and in the bowels of rocks, for new means of ſubſiſtence, or new enjoyments; ſtir and raiſe up the earth with all the mechanic powers invented by genius; eſtabliſh between the two hemiſpheres, by the happy improvements in the art of navigation, a communication of flying bridges, as it were, that re-unite one continent to the other; purſue all the tracks of the ſun, overcome its annual barriers, and paſs from the tropics to the poles upon the wings of the wind; in a word, to ſee them open all the ſtreams of population and pleaſure, in order to pour them upon the face of the earth through a thouſand channels. It is then, perhaps, that the Divinity contemplates his work with ſatisfaction, and does not repent himſelf of having made man.

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Such is the image of commerce; let us now admire the genius of the merchant. The ſame underſtanding that Newton had to calculate the motion of the ſtars, the merchant exerts in tracing the progreſs of the commercial people that fertilize the earth. His problems are the more difficult to reſolve, as the circumſtances of them are not taken from the immutable laws of nature, as the ſyſtems of the geometrician are; but depend upon the caprices of men, and the uncertainty of a thouſand complicated events. That accurate ſpirit of combination that Cromwell and Richelieu muſt have had, the one to deſtroy, the

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other to eſtabliſh deſpotic government, the merchant alſo poſſeſſes and carries it further: for he takes in both worlds at one view, and directs his operations upon an infinite variety of relative conſiderations, which it is ſeldom given to the ſtateſman, or even to the philoſopher, to comprehend and eſtimate. Nothing muſt eſcape him; he muſt foreſee the influence of the ſeaſons upon the plenty, the ſcarcity, and the quality of proviſions; upon the departure or return of his ſhips; the influence of political affairs upon thoſe of commerce; the changes which war or peace muſt neceſſarily occaſion in the prices and demands for merchandiſe, in the quantity and choice of proviſions, in the ſtate of the cities and ports of the whole world; he muſt know the conſequences that an alliance of the two northern nations may have under the torrid zone; the progreſs, either towards aggrandizement or decay, of the ſeveral trading companies; the effect that the fall of any European power in India may have over Africa and America; the ſtagnation that may be produced in certain countries by the blocking up of ſome channels of induſtry; the reciprocal connection there is between moſt branches of trade, and the mutual aſſiſtances they lend by the temporary injuries they ſeem to inflict upon each other; he muſt know the proper time to begin and when to ſtop in every new undertaking; in a word, he muſt be acquainted with the art of making all other nations tributary to his own, and of increaſing his own fortune by increaſing the proſperity of his country; or rather he muſt know how to enrich himſelf by extending the general proſperity of mankind. Such are the objects that the profeſſion of the merchant engages him to attend to: and ſtill this is not the whole extent of them.

Commerce is a ſcience which requires the knowledge of men ſtill more than of things. Its difficulties ariſe leſs from the multiplicity of its tranſactions than from the avidity of thoſe who are engaged in them. It is therefore neceſſary to treat with them

apparently as if we were convinced of their good faith, and at the ſame time to take as many precautions as if they were deſtitute of every principle.

Almoſt all men are honeſt out of their of own profeſſion; but there are few who, in the exerciſe of it, conform to the rules of ſcrupulous probity. This vice, which prevails from the higheſt to the loweſt ranks, ariſes from the great number of malverſations introduced by time and excuſed by cuſtom. Perſonal intereſt and general habit conceal the crime and the meanneſs of ſuch proceedings. *I do no more*, it is ſaid, *than what others do*, and thus we accuſtom ourſelves to commit actions which our conſcience ſoon ceaſes to reproach us with.

Theſe kinds of fraud do not appear ſo in the eyes of thoſe who indulge themſelves in them. As they are common to all profeſſions, do they not reciprocally expiate each other? I take out of the purſe of thoſe who deal with me, what thoſe whom I have dealt with have taken too much out of mine. Will it be required, that a merchant, a workman, or any individual whatever, ſhould ſuffer the tacit and ſecret oppreſſions of all thoſe to whom his daily wants oblige him to addreſs himſelf, without ever ſeeking his indemnity from any one of them? Since every thing is compenſated by general injuſtice, all will be as well as if the moſt rigid juſtice prevailed.

But can there be any kind of compenſation in theſe rapines of detail exerciſed by one claſs of citizens over all the reſt, or in thoſe exerciſed by the latter over the former? Are all profeſſions in equal want of each other? Several of them, which are expoſed to frauds inceſſantly renewed, do they not moſtly want opportunities of impoſing in their turn? Do not circumſtances make an alteration from one day to another in the proportion there is between theſe impoſitions? Theſe obſervations will perhaps appear too trifling; let us therefore be allowed to dwell upon one more important reflection. Will any wiſe man think it to be a matter of indifference that iniquity ſhould be

BOOK XIX. practiſed with impunity, and almoſt with univerſal conſent, in all ſtates; that the body of a nation ſhould be corrupt, and to a degree of corruption that knows neither reſtraint nor bounds; and that there is a material difference between a theft which hath the ſanction of cuſtom and is daily repeated, and any other poſſible act of injuſtice?

The evil muſt, however, be thought irremediable, at leaſt with reſpect to retail trades, ſince the only ſyſtem of morality applicable to thoſe who follow them is compriſed in theſe maxims: "Endeavour not to be "diſhonoured in your profeſſion. If you ſell dearer "than other people, keep up at leaſt the reputation of "ſelling better merchandiſe. Gain as much as you "can; and eſpecially avoid the having of two prices "for your goods. Make your fortune as ſpeedily as "you can. If you ſhould not be ill-ſpoken of, and "ſhould not forfeit your character, all is well." Honeſter principles might be ſubſtituted to theſe; but it would be in vain. The trifling daily profits, thoſe niggardly ſavings which conſtitute eſſential reſources in ſome profeſſions, lower and degrade the ſoul, and extinguiſh in it all ſenſe of dignity, and nothing truly laudable can be either recommended to, or expected from a ſpecies of men who have arrived to ſuch a pitch of degradation.

It is not the ſame thing with thoſe whoſe ſpeculations embrace all the countries of the earth, whoſe complicated operations connect the moſt diſtant nations, and by whoſe means the whole univerſe becomes one ſingle family. Theſe men may have a noble idea of their profeſſion, and it is almoſt unneceſſary to ſay to moſt of them, Be honeſt in your dealings; becauſe diſhoneſty, while it would be prejudicial to yourſelves, would alſo be injurious to your fellow-citizens, and aſperſe the character of your nation.

Do not abuſe your credit; that is to ſay, in caſe of any unexpected misfortune, let your own funds be able to replace thoſe you have obtained from the confidence which your correſpondents have repoſed in your know-

ledge, your talents, and your probity. In the midſt of the ſubverſion of your fortunes, ſhow yourſelves ſimilar to thoſe great trees which the thunder hath thrown down, but which ſtill preſerve all their appearance of majeſty. BOOK XIX.

You will miſtruſt yourſelves ſo much the more, as you are almoſt always the only judges of your own probity.

I know very well that you will be always reſpected by the multitude as long as you are wealthy; but how will you appear in your own eyes? If you have no regard for your own eſteem, heap up gold upon gold and be happy, if it be poſſible for a man deſtitute of morals to be ſo.

You muſt undoubtedly have retained, as you ought, ſome religious principles. Remember, therefore, that a time will come when your conſcience will reproach you for riches diſhoneſtly acquired, and which you muſt reſtore, unleſs, like madmen, you ſet at defiance a Judge who is ready to call you to a rigid account of them.

Serve all nations; but whatever advantage may be offered to you from ſpeculation, give it up, if it ſhould be injurious to your own country.

Let your word be ſacred. Be ruined if it be neceſſary, rather than break it; and ſhow that honour is more precious to you than gold.

Do not embrace too many objects at once. Whatever ſtrength of mind you may have, or however extenſive your genius may be, remember that the common day of the labouring man conſiſts of little more than ſix hours, and that all affairs which may require a longer day, would be neceſſarily intruſted to your ſubaltern aſſiſtants. A chaos would ſoon be formed around you, in diſſipating of which you might find yourſelf plunged from the ſummit of proſperity, where you imagine yourſelf to be, to the bottomleſs pit of misfortune.

I ſhall never ceaſe to recommend order to you: without it, every thing becomes uncertain. Nothing

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is done, or every thing is ill and haſtily done. Neglect renders all undertakings equally ruinous.

Although there be perhaps not one government honeſt enough to induce an individual to aſſiſt it with his credit, nevertheleſs I adviſe you to run the chance of it: but let not this aſſiſtance exceed your own fortune. You may injure yourſelf for your country, but none but yourſelf. The love of one's country muſt be ſubordinate to the laws of honour and of juſtice.

Never put yourſelf under the neceſſity of diſplaying your ſorrows and your deſpair to a court, who will coolly allege to you the public neceſſity, and will make you the ſhameful offer of a ſafe conduct. It is in you that the foreigners and the citizens have placed their confidence, and not in the miniſtry of a nation. It is in your hands that they have depoſited their funds, and nothing can ſcreen you from their reproaches and from thoſe of your conſcience, if you have one.

You will be exceedingly prudent if you form no other enterpriſes, except thoſe which may miſcarry, without affecting your family or diſturbing your own repoſe.

Be neither puſillanimous nor raſh. Puſillanimity would keep you in a ſtate of mediocrity; raſhneſs might deprive you in one day of the fruit of ſeveral years labour.

There is no compariſon to be made between fortune and credit. Fortune without credit is of little conſequence. Credit without fortune is unlimited. As long as credit remains, ruin is not completed; but the leaſt ſhock to your credit may be followed by the worſt of cataſtrophes. I have known an inſtance in which, at the end of twenty years, it had not yet been forgotten, that an opulent company had ſtopped payment for the ſpace of four-and-twenty hours.

The credit of a merchant is recovered with ſtill greater difficulty than the honour of a woman: nothing but a kind of miracle can put a ſtop to an alarm which ſpreads itſelf inſtantaneouſly from one hemiſphere of the globe to the other.

The merchant ought not to be leſs jealous of his credit, than the military man of his honour.

If you have any elevation of mind, you will rather chooſe to ſerve your fellow-citizens with leſs advantage, than foreigners at a leſs riſk, with leſs trouble, and with more profit.

Prefer an honeſt to a more lucrative ſpeculation.

It hath been ſaid, that the merchant, the banker, and the factor, being citizens of the world by profeſſion, were not citizens of any particular country. Let ſuch injurious diſcourſe no longer be holden againſt you.

If, when you quit trade, you ſhould only enjoy among your fellow-citizens that degree of conſideration granted to conſiderable riches, you will not have acquired every thing which you might have obtained from commerce.

The contempt of riches is perhaps incompatible with the ſpirit of commerce: but woe be to thoſe in whom that ſpirit ſhould exclude all ſentiments of honour.

I have raiſed an altar in my heart to four claſſes of citizens: to the philoſopher, who ſearches after truth, who enlightens the nations, and who preaches, by his example, virtue to men; to the magiſtrate, who knows how to maintain an equal balance of juſtice; to the military man who defends his country; and to the honeſt merchant, who enriches and honours it. The huſbandman, by whom we are fed, will excuſe me for having forgotten him.

If the merchant doth not conſider himſelf among this diſtinguiſhed rank of citizens, he doth not hold himſelf in ſufficient eſtimation. He forgets, that in his morning's work a few ſtrokes of his pen put the four quarters of the world in motion for their mutual happineſs.

Suffer not yourſelves to indulge any baſe jealouſy for the proſperity of another. If you thwart his operations without any motive, you are a bad man; and if you happen to diſcover his operations, and appropriate them to yourſelf, you will have robbed him.

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The influence of gold is as fatal to individuals as to nations. If you do not take care, you will be intoxicated with it. You will be desirous of heaping wealth upon wealth, and you will become either avaricious or prodigal. If you be avaricious, you will be rigid, and the sentiment of commiseration and benevolence will be extinguished within you. If you be prodigal, after having wasted the prime of your life in acquiring riches, you will be reduced to indigence by extravagant expences; and if you should escape this misfortune, you will not escape contempt.

Open sometimes your purse to the unfortunate and industrious man.

If you wish to be honoured during your life, and after your death, consecrate a part of your fortune to some monument of public utility. Woe to your heirs, if they be displeased at this expence.

Remember, that when a man dies who hath nothing but his wealth to boast of, he is no loss to society.

These maxims, which we have allowed ourselves to recal to the memory of man, have always been, and will always be true. If it should happen that they should appear problematical to some of those persons whose actions they are intended to regulate, the public authority must be blamed for it. The rapacious and servile treasury encourage in all parts private injustice, by the general acts of injustice they are seen to commit. They oppress commerce with the numberless imposts they lay upon it; they degrade the merchant, by the injurious suspicions which they are incessantly throwing out against his probity; they render, in some measure, fraud necessary, by the fatal invention of monopolies.

Monopoly is the exclusive privilege of one citizen, over all others, to buy or to sell. At this definition every sensible man will start, and say: Among citizens, all equals, all serving society, all contributing to its expences, in proportion to their means, how is it possible that one of them should have a right, of which another is legally deprived? What matter, then, is this,

ſo ſacred in its nature, that any man whatever cannot acquire it, if he be in want of it; or diſpoſe of it, if it ſhould belong to him?'

If any one could pretend to this privilege, it would undoubtedly be the ſovereign. Nevertheleſs, he cannot do it, for he is nothing more than the firſt of the citizens. The body of the nation may gratify him with it; but then it is only an act of deference, and not the conſequence of a prerogative, which would neceſſarily be tyrannical. If, therefore, the ſovereign cannot arrogate it to himſelf, much leſs can he confer it upon another. We cannot give away what is not our legitimate property.

But if, contrary to the nature of things, there ſhould exiſt a people, having ſome pretenſions to liberty, and where the chief hath nevertheleſs arrogated to himſelf, or conferred a monopoly on another, what hath been the conſequence of this infringement of general rights? Rebellion undoubtedly. No; it ought to have been, although it has not. The reaſon of this is, that a ſociety is an aſſemblage of men, employed in different functions, having different intereſts, jealous, puſillanimous, preferring the peaceable enjoyment of what is left them, to the having recourſe to arms in the defence of what is taken from them; living by the ſide of each other, and preſſing upon each other, without any concurrence of inclination: it is becauſe this unanimity, ſo uſeful, if even it ſhould ſubſiſt among them, would neither give them the courage nor the ſtrength they are in want of, and conſequently neither the hope of conquering, nor the reſolution of periſhing: it is, becauſe they would ſee for themſelves an imminent danger in a fruitleſs attempt, while in ſucceſs they would ſee only advantages for their deſcendants, whom they have leſs regard for than they have for themſelves.—Sometimes, however, this circumſtance hath happened.—Yes, but it was brought about by the enthuſiaſm of fanaticiſm.

But in whatever country monopoly may have taken place, it hath produced nothing but devaſtation. Ex-

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cluſive privileges have ruined the Old and the New World. There is no infant colony in the New Hemiſphere which hath not been either weakened or deſtroyed by it. In our hemiſphere, there is no flouriſhing country the ſplendour of which it hath not extinguiſhed; no enterpriſe, however brilliant, which it hath not obſcured; no circumſtance, more or leſs flattering, which it hath not turned to the general detriment.

But by what fatality hath all this happened? It was not a fatality, but a neceſſity. It hath been done, becauſe it was neceſſary it ſhould be done, and for this reaſon: becauſe the poſſeſſor of a privilege, however powerful he may be, can never have either the credit or the reſources of a whole nation: becauſe his monopoly not being able to laſt for ever, he avails himſelf of it as faſt as he can, ſees nothing but the preſent moment, and every thing which is beyond the term of his excluſive privilege is nothing to him; he chooſes rather to be leſs rich without waiting, than more rich by waiting. By an inſtinct natural to man, whoſe enjoyments are founded upon injuſtice, tyranny, and vexation, he is perpetually in dread of the ſuppreſſion of a privilege fatal to all. This has happened, becauſe his intereſt is all to himſelf, and the intereſt of the nation is nothing to him: it is becauſe, for a ſmall and momentary advantage, but for a certain one, he ſcruples not to do a great and permanent miſchief: it is becauſe the excluſive privilege, when it comes to the ſpot where it is to be exerciſed, introduces along with it the train of all perſecutions: it is becauſe, by the folly, the vague extent, or the extenſion of the terms of his grant, and by the power of him who hath either granted or protects it, he becomes maſter of all, interferes with every thing; he reſtrains and deſtroys every thing; he will annihilate a branch of induſtry uſeful to all, in order to compel another branch, prejudicial to all but himſelf; he will pretend to command the ſoil, as he hath commanded the labours, and the ground muſt ceaſe producing what is

proper to it, in order to produce only what is ſuitable to the monopoly, or to become barren; for he will prefer barrenneſs to a fertility which interferes with him, and ſcarcity which he does not feel, to plenty which might diminiſh his profits: it is becauſe, according to the nature of the thing of which he hath got the excluſive trade, if it be an article of primary neceſſity, he will ſtarve at once a whole country, or leave it quite bare; if it be not an article of primary neceſſity, he will ſoon be able, by indirect means, to make it one, and he will ſtill ſtarve, and leave quite bare the country, which he will eaſily deprive of the means of acquiring this article: it is becauſe it is almoſt poſſible for him, who is the ſole vender, to make himſelf, by contrivances as artful and deep as they are atrocious, the only buyer; and that then he will put at pleaſure the article he ſells at a very exorbitant price, and that which the people are obliged to ſell to him at a very low one. Then it is, that the ſeller, being diſguſted of a branch of induſtry, of a culture and of a labour which doth not bring him the equivalent of his expences, every thing goes to ruin, and the nation falls into miſery.

The term of the excluſive privilege expires, and the poſſeſſor of it retires opulent; but the opulence of a ſingle man, raiſed upon the ruin of the multitude, is a great evil; and, therefore, why hath it not been obviated? Wherefore is it not oppoſed? From the prejudice, as *cruel* as it is *abſurd*, that it is a matter of indifference to the ſtate, whether wealth be in the purſe of one man, or of another; whether it be confined to one man, or diſtributed among ſeveral. *Abſurd*, becauſe in all caſes, and eſpecially in thoſe of great neceſſity, the ſovereign addreſſes himſelf to the nation; that is, to a great number of men, who poſſeſs ſcarce any thing, and whoſe ruin is completed by the little that is taken from them; and to a very ſmall number of men, who poſſeſs a great deal, and who give a little, or indeed who never give in proportion to what they poſſeſs; and whoſe contribution, if even it were

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upon a level with their wealth, would never yield the hundredth part of what might have been obtained, without exaction and without murmur, from a numerous ſet of people in eaſy circumſtances. *Cruel*, becauſe, with equal advantages, it would be an act of inhumanity to compel the multitude to want and to ſuffer.

But is the excluſive privilege gratuitouſly granted? Sometimes; and it is then a mark of acknowledgment either for great ſervices, or for a long train of mean ſervilities, or the reſult of the intrigues of a ſeries of ſubalterns, bought and ſold; one extremity of which ſeries comes from the loweſt claſſes of ſociety, while the other is contiguous to the throne; and that is what is called protection. When ſold, it is never for its full value, and that for ſeveral reaſons. It is impoſſible that the price paid for it can compenſate for the ravages it occaſions. Its value cannot yet be known, neither by the chief of the nation, who knows nothing, nor by his repreſentative, who is often as ill informed, beſide that he is ſometimes a traitor to his maſter and to his country; nor even by the purchaſer himſelf, who always calculates his acquiſition by the rate of its leaſt produce. In a word, theſe ſhameful bargains being moſtly made in times of criſis, the adminiſtration accepts a ſum little proportioned to the value of the thing, but advanced in the moment of urgent neceſſity, or, what is more common, of urgent caprice.

Laſtly, let us examine what is the reſult of theſe monopolies repeated, and of the diſaſters which attend them; the ruin of the ſtate, and the contempt of public faith. After theſe acts of infidelity, which cannot be mentioned without exciting a bluſh, the nation is plunged into deſolation. In the midſt of ſeveral millions of unfortunate wretches, there ariſes the proud head of ſome extortioners, gorged with riches, and inſulting over the miſery of all. The empire, enervated, totters for ſome time on the borders of the abyſs into which it falls, amongſt the acclamations of contempt and ridicule from its neighbours; unleſs Heaven ſhould

raiſe up a ſaviour in its favour, whom it always expects, but who doth not always arrive, or who is ſoon diſguſted by the general perſecution he experiences from thoſe villains of whom he is the terror.

The obſtacles with which the ſeveral governments clog the trade which their ſubjects either carry on, or ought to carry on, among themſelves, are ſtill much more multiplied in that trade which is carried on between one ſtate and the reſt. This jealouſy of the powers, which is almoſt of modern date, might be taken for a ſecret conſpiracy to ruin each other, without advantage to any one of them.

Thoſe who govern the people exert the ſame ſkill in guarding againſt the induſtry of the nations, as in preſerving themſelves from the artifices of the intriguing men by whom they are ſurrounded. Acts of violence and reciprocal enmity univerſally prevail in all parts. Some ignorant, mean, and corrupt men, have filled Europe, and the whole world, with a multitude of unbearable reſtraints, which have been more and more extended. Centinels and obſtacles are placed in every part of the ſea and of the land. The traveller enjoys no repoſe, the merchant no property; both are equally expoſed to all the ſnares of an inſidious legiſlation, that gives riſe to crimes by its prohibitions, and to penalties by crimes. Men become culpable without knowing it, or without deſign; are arreſted, plundered, and taxed, without having any thing to reproach themſelves with. Such is the ſtate of commerce in time of peace. But what ſhall we ſay of commercial wars?

It is natural enough for a people, pent up in the icy regions of the north, to dig out iron from the bowels of the earth that refuſes them ſubſiſtence, and to reap the harveſt of another nation by force of arms: hunger, which is reſtrained by no laws, cannot violate any, and ſeems to plead an excuſe for theſe hoſtilities. Men muſt neceſſarily live by plunder, when they have no corn. But when a nation enjoys the privilege of an extenſive commerce, and can ſupply ſeveral other ſtates

BOOK XIX. from its ſuperfluity, what motive can induce it to declare war againſt other induſtrious nations, to obſtruct their navigation and their labours; in a word, to forbid them to live, on pain of death? Why does it arrogate to itſelf an excluſive branch of trade, a right of fiſhing and of navigation, as if it were a matter of property, and as if the ſea were to be divided into acres as well as the land? The motives of ſuch wars are eaſily diſcovered: we know that the jealouſy of commerce is nothing more than a jealouſy of power. But have any people a right to obſtruct a work they cannot execute themſelves, and to condemn another nation to indolence, becauſe they themſelves chooſe to be entirely given up to it?

How unnatural and contradictory an expreſſion is a war of commerce! Commerce is the ſource and means of ſubſiſtence; war of deſtruction. Commerce may, poſſibly, give riſe to war, and continue it; but war puts a ſtop to every branch of commerce. Whatever advantage one nation may derive from another in trade becomes a motive of induſtry and emulation to both: in war, on the contrary, the injury affects both; for plunder, fire, and ſword, can neither improve lands nor enrich mankind. The wars of commerce are ſo much the more fatal, as by the preſent ſuperiority of the maritime powers over thoſe of the continent, and of Europe over the three other parts of the world, the conflagration becomes general; and that the diſſenſions of two maritime powers excite the ſpirit of diſcord among all their allies, and occaſion inactivity even among the neutral powers.

Coaſts and ſeas ſtained with blood, and covered with dead bodies; the horrors of war extending from pole to pole, between Africa, Aſia, and America, as well throughout the ſea that ſeparates us from the New World, as throughout the vaſt extent of the Pacific Ocean: ſuch has been the ſpectacle exhibited in the two laſt wars, in which all the powers of Europe have been alternately ſhaken, or have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſome remarkable exertion. In the mean-

while, the earth was depopulated, and commerce did not supply the loſſes it had ſuſtained; the lands were exhauſted by taxes, and the channels of navigation did not aſſiſt the progreſs of agriculture. The loans of the ſtate previouſly ruined the fortunes of the citizens by uſurious profits, the forerunners of bankruptcy. Even thoſe powers that were victorious, oppreſſed by the conqueſts they had made, and having acquired a greater extent of land than they could keep or cultivate, were involved in the ruin of their enemies. The neutral powers, who were deſirous of enriching themſelves in peace, in the midſt of this commotion, were expoſed, and tamely ſubmitted to inſults more diſgraceful than the defeats of an open war.

The ſpirit of diſcord had been transferred from the ſovereigns to the people. The citizens of the ſeveral ſtates took up arms reciprocally to plunder each other. Nothing was ſeen but merchantmen changed into privateers: thoſe by whom they were commanded were not urged by neceſſity to follow this employment; ſome of them had fortunes, and the others might have received advantageous ſalaries from all ſides. An inordinate paſſion for plunder was the only ſtimulus they had to this depravity. When they met with a peaceful merchantman, they were ſeized with a ferocious joy, which manifeſted itſelf in the moſt lively tranſports: they were cruel, and homicides. An enemy more fortunate, ſtronger, or bolder, might, in their turn, deprive them of their prey, their liberty, and their life. But the aſpect of a danger ſo common did not diminiſh either their avarice or their rage. This ſpecies of frenzy was not new. It had been known in the moſt diſtant ages, and had been perpetuated from one century to another. Man, at all times, though not urged by the unconquerable ſtimulus of hunger, hath ſought to devour man. The calamity, however, which we here deplore, had never ariſen to that pitch at which we have ſeen it. The activity of piracy hath increaſed in proportion as the ſeas have furniſhed it

BOOK XIX. with more means to ſatisfy its avidity and its turbulent ſpirit.

Will nations, then, never be convinced of the neceſſity of putting an end to theſe acts of barbariſm? Would not a reſtraint which ſhould check their progreſs prove a circumſtance of evident utility? Wherefore muſt the productions of the two worlds be either ſwallowed up in the abyſs of the ocean, together with the veſſels which convey them; or become the prey of the vices and debauchery of a few vagabonds, deſtitute of morals and of principles? Will this infatuation continue much longer, or will the adminiſtrators of empires at length open their eyes to the light? Should they one day be made acquainted with their true intereſts, with the eſſential intereſts of the ſocieties at the head of which they are placed, they will not limit their policy to the clearing of the ſeas from pirates, but they will extend it ſo far, as to leave a free intercourſe to the connections ſubſiſting between their reſpective ſubjects, during thoſe murderous and deſtructive hoſtilities which frequently haraſs and ravage the globe.

They are fortunately paſt thoſe deplorable times, when the nations fought for their mutual annihilation. The troubles which at preſent divide Europe have not ſo fatal an aim. It is ſeldom that any other object is propoſed, than the reparation of ſome injuſtice, or the maintenance of a certain equilibrium between empires. The belligerent powers will undoubtedly endeavour to annoy and to weaken each other as much as poſſible: but if none of them could do more miſchief than they ſuffered, would it not be generally uſeful to put a ſtop to theſe calamities? This is what conſtantly happens, when war ſuſpends the operations of commerce.

Then one ſtate rejects the productions and the induſtry of the adverſe ſtate, which, in its turn, rejects her productions and her induſtry. This is, on both ſides, a diminution of labour, of profit, and of enjoy-

ments. The interference of neutral powers, in thoſe circumſtances, is not ſo favourable as we are perhaps accuſtomed to conſider it. Beſide that their agency muſt neceſſarily be very expenſive, they endeavour to raiſe themſelves upon the ruin of thoſe whom they ſeem to ſerve. Whatever their ſoil and their manufactures can furniſh is ſubſtituted, as much as poſſible, to the productions of the ſoil and manufactures of the armed powers, which frequently do not recover at the peace what the hoſtilities had made them loſe. It will therefore be always conſiſtent with the intereſts of the nations which make war againſt each other, to continue, without reſtraint, the exchanges they carried on before their diſſenſions.

All truths hold by each other. Let this truth, the importance of which we have eſtabliſhed, direct the conduct of governments; and we ſhall ſoon ſee thoſe innumerable barriers, which, even in times of the moſt profound tranquillity, ſeparate the nations, whatever may be the affinities which nature or chance hath created between them, will exiſt no more.

The moſt ſanguinary diſputes were formerly no more than tranſient exploſions, after which, each people repoſed upon their arms, either defeated or triumphant. Peace, at that time, was peace; but, at preſent, it is nothing more than a tacit war. Every ſtate rejects foreign productions, either by prohibitions, or by reſtraints often equivalent to prohibitions. Every ſtate refuſes its own, upon ſuch equitable terms which might make them be ſought after, or extend their conſumption. The deſire of mutually annoying each other is extended from one pole to the other. In vain hath nature regulated, that, under her wiſe laws, every country ſhould be opulent, powerful, and happy, from the wealth, the power, and the felicity of the reſt. They have, unanimouſly as it were, diſturbed this plan of univerſal benevolence, to the detriment of them all. Their ambition hath led them to inſulate themſelves; and this ſolitary ſituation hath made them deſirous of an excluſive proſperity. Evil for evil hath then been

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returned. Artifices have been oppoſed to artifices, proſcriptions to proſcriptions, and fraud to fraud. Nations have become enervated in attempting to enervate the rival powers; and it was impoſſible that it ſhould be otherwiſe. The connections of commerce are all very cloſe. One of its branches cannot experience any oppoſition, without the others being ſenſible of it. Commerce connects people and fortunes together, and eſtabliſhes the intercourſe of exchanges. It is one entire whole, the ſeveral parts of which attract, ſupport, and balance each other. It reſembles the human body, all the parts of which are affected, when one of them doth not fulfil the functions that were deſtined to it.

Would you wiſh to put an end to the calamities which ill contrived plans have brought upon the whole earth, you muſt pull down the fatal walls with which they have encompaſſed themſelves. You muſt reſtore that happy fraternity which conſtituted the delight of the firſt ages. Let the people, in whatever country fate may have placed them, to whatever government they may be ſubject, whatever religion they may profeſs, communicate as freely with each other, as the inhabitants of a hamlet with thoſe of a neighbouring one; with thoſe of the moſt contiguous town, and with all thoſe of the ſame empire; that is to ſay, free from duties, formalities, or predilections.

Then, but not before, the earth will be filled with productions, and thoſe of an exquiſite quality. The frenzy of impoſitions and prohibitions hath reduced each ſtate to cultivate commodities, which its ſoil and its climate rejected, and which were never either of good quality, or plentiful. The labours will be directed to another channel. When the earth can ſatisfy its wants in a more pleaſant way, and at a cheaper rate, it will turn all its activity to objects for which nature had deſtined it; and which being ſuch as they ſhould be, will find an advantageous mart in thoſe places even where an enlightened ſyſtem of economy ſhall have determined the people to reject them.

Then, but not before, all nations will attain to that degree of proſperity, to which they are allowed to aſpire: they will enjoy both their own riches, and the riches of other nations. The people who had till then had ſome ſucceſs in trade, have hitherto imagined that their neighbours could only make their own trade flouriſh at the expence of theirs. This preſumption had made them behold with an anxious and ſuſpicious eye the efforts that were made to improve their ſituation; and had excited them to interrupt, by the manœuvres of an active and unjuſt cupidity, labours the conſequences of which they dreaded. They will alter their conduct, when they ſhall have underſtood, that the natural and moral order of things is ſubverted by the preſent ſtate of them; that the idleneſs of one country is hurtful to all the reſt, either becauſe it condemns them to more labour, or becauſe it deprives them of ſome enjoyments; that foreign induſtry, far from confining theirs, will extend it; that the more benefits ſhall be multiplied around them, the more eaſy it will be for them to extend their conveniences and their exchanges; that their harveſts and their manufactures muſt neceſſarily fall to ruin, if the marts, and their returns, are to be deficient; that ſtates, as well as individuals, have a viſible intereſt, habitually, to ſell at the higheſt price poſſible, and to purchaſe at the higheſt price poſſible; and that this double advantage can be found only in the greateſt poſſible competition, and in the greateſt affluence, between the ſellers and the purchaſers. This is the intereſt of every government, and it is therefore the intereſt of all of them.

Let it not be ſaid, that, in the ſyſtem of a general and illimited liberty, ſome people would acquire a too determined aſcendant over the reſt. The new plans will not deprive any ſtate of its ſoil or of its genius. Whatever advantages each may have had in times of prohibition, it will preſerve under the guidance of better principles. Its utility will even in-

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creaſe conſiderably, becauſe its neighbours, enjoying more wealth, will more and more extend its conſumptions.

If there exiſted a country which might be allowed to have ſome diſlike to the abolition of the prohibitive government, it undoubtedly would be that which improvident nature hath condemned to an eternal poverty. Accuſtomed to reject, by ſumptuary laws, the delights of more fortunate countries, they might be apprehenſive that a communication entirely free, with them, might ſubvert their maxims, corrupt their morals, and pave the way for their ruin. Theſe alarms would be ill-founded. Except, perhaps, a few moments of illuſion, every nation would regulate their wants by their abilities.

Happy, then, and infinitely happy, will be that power, which ſhall be the firſt to diſencumber itſelf of the reſtraints, the taxes, and the prohibitions, which in all parts oppreſs and ſtop the progreſs of commerce. Attracted by the liberty, the facility, the ſafety, and the multiplicity of exchanges; the ſhips, the productions, the commodities, and the merchants of all countries, will crowd into their ports. The cauſes of ſo ſplendid a proſperity will ſoon be underſtood; and the nations, renouncing their ancient errors and their deſtructive prejudices, will haſten to adopt principles ſo fertile in favourable events. The revolution will become general. Clouds will be diſpelled in all parts; a ſerene ſky will ſhine over the face of the whole globe, and nature will reſume the reins of the world. Then, or never, will that univerſal peace ariſe, which a warlike but humane monarch did not think to be a chimerical idea. If ſo deſirable and ſo little expected a benefit ſhould not iſſue from this new order of things, from this great unfolding of reaſon, at leaſt the general felicity of men will be eſtabliſhed upon a more ſolid baſis.

Agriculture.

Commerce, which naturally ariſes from agriculture, returns to it by its bent and by its circulation. Thus

s th[illegible] the rivers return to the ſea, which has pro-
ed th[illegible]m, by the exhalations of its waters into va-
irs, and by the fall of thoſe vapours into waters.
e flow of gold brought by the circulation and con-
ption of the fruits of the earth, returns, at length,
he fields, there to produce all the neceſſaries of
d the materials of commerce. If the lands be
not cultivated, all commerce is precarious; becauſe it
is deprived of its original ſupplies, which are the pro-
ductions of nature. Nations that are only maritime,
or commercial, enjoy, it is true, the fruits of commerce;
but the tree of it belongs to thoſe people who culti-
vate it. Agriculture is therefore the firſt and real
opulence of a ſtate.

Theſe benefits were not enjoyed in the infancy of the world. The firſt inhabitants of the globe relied only upon chance, and upon their dexterity, for procuring to themſelves an uncertain ſubſiſtence. They wandered from one region to another. Inceſſantly abſorbed in the ideas of want or fear, they reciprocally fled from, or deſtroyed, each other. The earth was ſtirred up, and the miſeries of a vagabond life were alleviated. In proportion as agriculture was extended, mankind were multiplied with the means of ſubſiſtence. Nations, and even great ones, were formed. Some of them diſdained the ſource of their proſperity, and were puniſhed for that ſenſeleſs pride by invaſions. Upon the ruins of vaſt monarchies, ſunk in lethargy, by the neglect of uſeful labours, new ſtates aroſe; which having, in their turn, contracted the habit of truſting the care of their ſubſiſtence to their ſlaves, were not able to reſiſt the nations ſtimulated either by indigence or barbariſm.

Such was the fate of Rome. Proud of the ſpoils of the univerſe, ſhe held in contempt the rural occupations of her founders, and of her moſt illuſtrious citizens. Her country-places were filled with delightful retreats. She ſubſiſted only upon foreign contributions. The people, corrupted by perpetual profuſions, abandoned the labours of tillage. All the uſe-

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ful or honourable places were purchaſed with abundant diſtributions of corn. Hunger gave the law in the comitia. All the orders of the republic were no longer governed by any thing but hunger and amuſement. Then the empire fell to ruin, deſtroyed rather by its internal vices, than by the barbarians who tore it to pieces.

The contempt which the Romans had for agriculture, in the intoxication of thoſe conqueſts which had given them the whole world without their cultivating it, was perpetuated. It was adopted by thoſe ſavage hordes, who, deſtroying by the ſword, a power which was eſtabliſhed by it, left to the vaſſals the clearing of the lands, of which they reſerved to themſelves the fruits and the property. Even in the age ſubſequent to the diſcovery of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, this truth was unattended to; whether in Europe the people were too much engaged in wars of ambition or religion to conſider it; or whether the conqueſts made by Portugal and Spain beyond the ſeas, having brought us treaſures without labour, we contented ourſelves with enjoying them by encouraging luxury and the arts, before any method had been thought of to ſecure theſe riches.

But the time came, when plunder ceaſed, having no object on which it could be exerciſed. When the conquered lands in the New World, after having been much conteſted for, were diviſded, it became neceſſary to cultivate them, and to ſupport the coloniſts who ſettled there. As theſe were natives of Europe, they cultivated for that country ſuch productions as it did not furniſh, and required in return ſuch proviſions as cuſtom had made natural to them. In proportion as the colonies were peopled, and as the number of failors and manufacturers increaſed with the increaſe of productions, the lands muſt neceſſarily furniſh a greater quantity of ſubſiſtence for the increaſe of population, and an augmentation of indigenous commodities, for foreign articles of exchange and conſumption. The laborious employment of navigation, and the ſpoiling

of provisions in the transport, causing a greater loss of materials and produce, it became necessary to cultivate the earth with the greatest care and assiduity, in order to render it more fruitful. The consumption of American commodities, far from lessening that of European productions, served only to increase and extend it upon all the seas, in all the ports, and in all the cities where commerce and industry prevailed. Thus the people who were the most commercial necessarily became, at the same time, the greatest promoters of agriculture. BOOK XIX.

England first conceived the idea of this new system. She established and encouraged it by honours and premiums proposed to the planters. A medal was stricken, and presented to the duke of Bedford, with the following inscription: *For having planted Oak.* Triptolemus and Ceres were adored in antiquity only from similar motives; and yet temples and altars are still erected to indolent monks. The God of nature will not suffer that mankind should perish. He hath implanted in all noble and generous minds, in the hearts of all people and of enlightened monarchs, this idea, that labour is the first duty of man, and that the most important of all labours is that of cultivating the land. The reward that attends agriculture, the satisfying of our wants, is the best encomium that can be made of it. *If I had a subject who could produce two blades of corn instead of one,* said a monarch, *I should prefer him to all the men of political genius in the state.* How much is it to be lamented, that such a king and such an opinion are merely the fiction of Swift's brain? But a nation that can produce such writers must necessarily confirm the truth of this sublime idea; and accordingly we find that England doubled the produce of its cultivation.

Europe had this great example for more than half a century under her eyes, without its making a sufficient impression upon her to induce her to follow it. The French, who, under the administration of three cardinals, had scarce been allowed to turn their thoughts to

BOOK XIX. public affairs, ventured at length, in 1750, to write on ſubjects of importance and general utility. The undertaking of An Univerſal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences brought every great object to view, and exerciſed the thoughts of every man of genius and of knowledge. Monteſquieu wrote The Spirit of Laws, and the boundaries of genius were extended. Natural Hiſtory was written by a French Pliny, who ſurpaſſed Greece and Rome in the knowledge and deſcription of nature. This hiſtory, bold and ſublime as its ſubject, warmed the imagination of every reader, and powerfully excited them to ſuch inquiries as a nation cannot relinquiſh without returning into a ſtate of barbariſm. It was then that a great number of ſubjects became ſenſible of the real wants of their country. Government itſelf ſeemed to perceive that all kinds of riches originated from the earth. They granted ſome encouragement to agriculture, but without having the courage to remove the obſtacles which prevented its improvement.

The French huſbandman doth not yet enjoy the happineſs of being taxed only in proportion to his abilities. Arbitrary impoſts ſtill moleſt and ruin him. Jealous or rapacious neighbours have it always in their power to exerciſe either their cupidity or their revenge againſt him. A barbarous collector, a haughty lord, an arrogant and authoriſed monopoliſt, a man raiſed to fortune, and who is a greater deſpot than all the reſt, may humiliate, beat, and plunder him; they may deprive him, in a word, of all the rights of mankind, of property, of ſafety, and of liberty. Degraded by this kind of abject ſtate, his clothes, his manners, his language, become an object of deriſion for all the other claſſes of ſociety; and authority often gives ſanction by its conduct to this exceſs of extravagance.

I have heard that ſtupid and ferocious ſtateſman, and the indignation which he excited in me almoſt prompts me to name him, and to give up his memory to the execration of all honeſt and ſenſible men; I have heard him ſay, that the labours of the field were

ſo hard, that, if the cultivator were allowed to acquire ſome eaſe to his circumſtances, he would forſake his plough, and leave the lands untilled. His advice was therefore to perpetuate labour by miſery, and to condemn to eternal indigence the man, without the ſweat of whoſe brow he muſt have been ſtarved to death. He ordered that the oxen ſhould be fattened, while he curtailed the ſubſiſtence of the huſbandman. He governed a province, and yet he did not conceive that it was the impoſſibility of acquiring a ſmall degree of eaſe, and not the danger of fatigue, which diſguſted the huſbandman of his condition. He did not know that the ſtate into which men are anxious to enter, is that which they hope to quit by the acquiſition of riches; and that however hard may be the daily labours of agriculture, it will nevertheleſs find more votaries in proportion as the reward of its labours ſhall be more certain and more abundant. He had not noticed, that in the towns there were a multitude of employments, which, although they ſhortened the lives of thoſe who were engaged in them, yet this did not deter others from following them. He did not know, that, in ſome countries of vaſt extent, there were miners who voluntarily devoted themſelves to deſtruction in the bowels of the earth, and that even before they were thirty years of age, upon condition of reaping from this ſacrifice clothes and proviſions for their wives and children. It had never ſuggeſted itſelf to him, that, in all profeſſions, that ſort of eaſe in circumſtances, which admits of calling in aſſiſtance, alleviates the fatigue of them; and that inhumanly to exclude the peaſant from the claſs of proprietors, was to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the firſt of the arts, which could not become flouriſhing, as long as the perſon who tilled the earth was obliged to till it for another. This Chineſman had never compared with his own immenſe vineyards that ſmall portion of vines belonging to his vine-dreſſer, nor known the difference there is between the ſoil cultivated for one's ſelf and that which is cultivated for others.

BOOK XIX. Fortunately for France, all the agents of government have not had ſuch deſtructive prejudices; and more fortunately ſtill, the obſtacles which impeded the improvement of the lands and of agriculture in that country have been often overcome. Germany, and after that the northern climates, have been attracted by the taſte of the age, which ſenſible men had turned towards theſe great objects. Theſe vaſt regions have at length underſtood that the moſt extenſive countries were of no value, if they were not rendered uſeful by a perſeverance in labour; that the clearing of a ſoil extended it; and that territories the leaſt favoured by nature might become fertile by prudent and ſkilful expenditures beſtowed upon them. A multiplicity and a variety of productions have been the reward of ſo judicious a proceeding. Nations, who have been in want of the neceſſaries of life, have been enabled to furniſh proviſions even to the ſouthern parts of Europe.

But how is it poſſible that men, ſituated upon ſo rich a territory, ſhould have wanted foreign aſſiſtance to ſubſiſt? The great excellence of the territory hath been perhaps the true reaſon of this. In the countries which were not ſo favourably treated by nature, it hath been neceſſary that the cultivator ſhould have conſiderable funds, that he ſhould condemn himſelf to aſſiduous watchings, in order to acquire from the boſom of an ungrateful or rebellious ſoil harveſts moderately plentiful. Under a more fortunate ſky, it was only neceſſary for him, as it were, to ſcratch the earth; and this advantage hath plunged him into miſery and indolence. The climate hath ſtill increaſed his misfortunes, which have been completed by religious inſtitutions.

The Sabbath, conſidering it even only under a political point of view, is an admirable inſtitution. It was proper to give a ſtated day of reſt to mankind, that they might have time to recover themſelves, to lift up their eyes to heaven, to enjoy life with reflection, to meditate upon paſt events, to reaſon upon pre-

ſent tranſactions, and in ſome meaſure to form plans for the future. But by multiplying thoſe days of inactivity, hath not that which was eſtabliſhed for the advantage of individuals and of ſocieties, been converted into a calamity for them? Would not a ſoil, which ſhould be ploughed three hundred days in the year by ſtrong men and vigorous animals, yield double the produce of that which ſhould only be worked one hundred and fifty days in the year? What ſtrange infatuation! Torrents of blood have been ſhed an infinite number of times to prevent the diſmembering of a territory, or to increaſe its extent; and yet the powers intruſted with the maintenance and happineſs of empires, have patiently ſuffered that a prieſt, ſometimes even a foreign prieſt, ſhould invade ſucceſſively one third of this territory, by the proportional diminution of labour, which alone could fertilize it. This inconceivable diſorder hath ceaſed in ſeveral ſtates, but it continues in the ſouth of Europe. This is one of the greateſt obſtacles to the increaſe of its ſubſiſtence and of its population. The importance of agriculture begins, however, to be perceived: even Spain hath exerted herſelf; and for want of inhabitants, who would employ themſelves in the labours of the field, ſhe hath at laſt invited foreigners to till her uncultivated provinces.

Notwithſtanding this almoſt univerſal emulation, it muſt be acknowledged that agriculture hath not made the ſame progreſs as the other arts. Since the revival of letters, the genius of men hath meaſured the earth, calculated the motion of the ſtars, and weighed the air. It hath penetrated through the darkneſs which concealed from it the natural and moral ſyſtem of the world. By inveſtigating nature, it hath diſcovered an infinite number of ſecrets, with which all the ſciences have enriched themſelves. Its empire hath extended itſelf over a multitude of objects neceſſary to the happineſs of mankind. In this ferment of men's minds, experimental philoſophy, which had but very imperfectly enlightened ancient philoſophy, hath too ſeldom

BOOK XIX. turned its obſervations towards the important part of the vegetable ſyſtem. The different qualities of the ſoil, the number of which is ſo various, are ſtill unknown, as well as the kind of ſoil which is the beſt adapted to every production; the quantity and the quality of the ſeeds which it is proper to ſow in them; the ſeaſons moſt propitious for ploughing, ſowing, and reaping them; and the ſpecies of manure fit to increaſe their fertility. No better information is procured concerning the moſt advantageous manner of multiplying flocks, of breeding and of feeding them, and of improving their fleece. No greater light hath been thrown upon the cultivation of trees. We have ſcarce any but imperfect notions concerning all theſe articles of primary neceſſity, ſuch as have been tranſmitted to us by a blind routine, or by practice followed with little reflection. Europe would be ſtill leſs advanced in this knowledge, were it not for the obſervations of a few Engliſh writers, who have ſucceeded in eradicating ſome prejudices, and in introducing ſeveral excellent methods. This zeal for the firſt of arts hath been communicated to the cultivators of their nation. Fairchild, one of them, hath carried his enthuſiaſm ſo far, as to order that the dignity of his profeſſion ſhould be annually celebrated by a public diſcourſe. His will was complied with for the firſt time in 1760, in St. Leonard's church in London; and this uſeful ceremony hath never been omitted ſince that period.

It is a fact ſomewhat remarkable, though it might naturally be expected, that men ſhould have returned to the exerciſe of agriculture, the firſt of the arts, only after they had ſucceſſively tried the reſt. It is the common progreſſion of the human mind not to regain the right path till after it hath exhauſted itſelf in purſuing falſe tracks. It is always advancing; and as it relinquiſhed agriculture to purſue commerce and the enjoyments of luxury, it ſoon traverſed over the different arts of life, and returned at laſt to agriculture, which is the ſource and foundation of all the reſt, and to which it devoted its whole attention, from the ſame

motives of intereſt that had made it quit it before. Thus the eager and inquiſitive man, who voluntarily baniſhes himſelf from his own country in his youth, wearied with his conſtant excurſions, returns at laſt to live and die in his native land. BOOK XIX.

Every thing, indeed, depends upon, and ariſes from, the cultivation of land. It forms the internal ſtrength of ſtates, and occaſions riches to circulate into them from without. Every power which comes from any other ſource is artificial and precarious, either conſidered in a natural or moral light. Induſtry and commerce, which do not directly affect the agriculture of a country, are in the power of foreign nations, who may either diſpute theſe advantages through competition, or deprive the country of them through envy. This may be effected either by eſtabliſhing the ſame branch of induſtry among themſelves, or by ſuppreſſing the exportation of their own unwrought materials, or the exportation of thoſe materials when manufactured. But a country well cultivated occaſions an increaſe of population, and riches are the natural conſequence of that increaſe. This is not the teeth which the dragon ſows to bring forth ſoldiers to deſtroy each other; it is the milk of Juno, which peoples the heavens with an innumerable multitude of ſtars.

The government, therefore, ſhould rather be attentive to the ſupport of the country places than of great cities. The firſt may be conſidered as parents and nurſeries always fruitful, the others only as daughters which are often ungrateful and barren. The cities can ſcarce ſubſiſt but from the ſuperfluous part of the population and produce of the countries. Even the fortified places and ports of trade, which ſeem to be connected with the whole world by their ſhips, which diffuſe more riches than they poſſeſs, do not, however, attract all the treaſures they diſpenſe, but by means of the produce of the countries that ſurround them. The tree muſt, therefore, be watered at its root. The cities will only be flouriſhing in proportion as the fields are fruitful.

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But this fertility depends ſtill leſs upon the ſoil than upon the inhabitants. Some countries, though ſituated under a climate the moſt favourable to agriculture, produce leſs than others inferior to them in every reſpect, becauſe the efforts of nature are impeded in a thouſand ways by the form of their government. In all parts where the people are attached to the country by property, by the ſecurity of their funds and revenues, the lands will flouriſh; in all parts where privileges are not confined to the cities, and labour to the countries, every proprietor will be fond of the inheritance of his anceſtors, will increaſe and embelliſh it by aſſiduous cultivation, and his children will be multiplied in proportion to his means, and theſe be increaſed in proportion to his children.

It is, therefore, the intereſt of government to favour the huſbandman, in preference to all the indolent claſſes of ſociety. Nobility is but an odious diſtinction, when it is not founded upon ſervices of real and evident utility to the ſtate; ſuch as the defence of the nation againſt the encroachments of conqueſt, and againſt the enterpriſes of deſpotiſm. The nobles furniſh only precarious, and oftentimes fatal aſſiſtance; when, after having led an effeminate and licentious life in the cities, they can only afford a weak defence for their country upon her fleets and in her armies, and afterwards return to court, to ſolicit, as a reward for their baſeneſs, places and honours, which are revolting and burdenſome to the nation. The clergy are a ſet of men uſeleſs, at leaſt, to the earth, even when they are employed in prayer. But when, with ſcandalous morals, they preach a doctrine which is rendered double incredible and impracticable from their ignorance and from their example; when, after having diſgraced, diſcredited, and overturned religion, by a variety of abuſes, of ſophiſms, of injuſtices and uſurpations, they wiſh to ſupport it by perſecution; then this privileged, indolent, and turbulent claſs of men, become the moſt dreadful enemies of the ſtate and of the nation. The only good and reſpectable part of them that remains,

is that portion of the clergy who are moſt deſpiſed and moſt burdened with duty, and who, being ſituated among the lower claſs of people in the country, labour, edify, adviſe, comfort, and relieve a multitude of unhappy men. BOOK XIX.

The huſbandmen deſerve to be preferred by government even to the manufacturers, and the profeſſors of either the mechanical or liberal arts. To encourage and to protect the arts of luxury, and at the ſame time neglect the cultivation of the land, that ſource of induſtry to which they owe their exiſtence and ſupport, is to forget the order of the ſeveral relations between nature and ſociety. To favour the arts, and to neglect agriculture, is the ſame thing as to remove the baſis of a pyramid, in order to finiſh the top. The mechanical arts engage a ſufficient number of hands by the allurement of the riches they procure, by the comforts they ſupply the workmen with, by the eaſe, pleaſures, and conveniencies, that ariſe in cities where the ſeveral branches of induſtry unite. It is the life of the huſbandman that ſtands in need of encouragement for the hard labours it is expoſed to, and of indemniſication for the loſſes and vexations it ſuſtains. The huſbandman is placed at a diſtance from every object that can either excite his ambition or gratify his curioſity. He lives in a ſtate of ſeparation from the diſtinctions and pleaſures of ſociety. He cannot give his children a polite education, without ſending them at a diſtance from him, nor place them in ſuch a ſituation as may enable them to diſtinguiſh and advance themſelves by the fortune they may acquire. He does not enjoy the ſacrifices he makes for them, while they are educated at a diſtance from him. In a word, he undergoes all the fatigues that are incident to man, without enjoying his pleaſures, unleſs ſupported by the paternal care of government. Every thing is burdenſome and humiliating to him, even the taxes, the very name of which ſometimes makes his condition more wretched than any other.

Men are naturally attached to the liberal arts by

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the bent of their talents, which makes this attachment grow up into a kind of paſſion; and likewiſe by the conſideration they reflect on thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves in the purſuit of them. It is not poſſible to admire the works of genius, without eſteeming and careſſing the perſons endowed with that valuable gift of nature. But the man devoted to the labours of huſbandry, if he cannot enjoy in quiet what he poſſeſſes, and what he gathers; if he be incapable of improving the benefits of his condition, becauſe the ſweets of it are taken from him; if the military ſervice, if vaſſalage and taxes are to deprive him of his child, his cattle, and his corn, nothing remains for him but to imprecate both the ſky and the land that torment him, and to abandon his fields and his country.

A wiſe government cannot, therefore, refuſe to pay its principal attention to agriculture, without endangering its very exiſtence: the moſt ready and effectual means of aſſiſting it, is to favour the multiplication of every kind of production, by the moſt free and general circulation.

An unreſtrained liberty in the exchange of commodities renders a people at the ſame time commercial and attentive to agriculture; it extends the views of the farmer towards trade, and thoſe of the merchant towards cultivation. It connects them to each other by ſuch relations as are regular and conſtant. All men belong equally to the villages and to the cities, and there is a reciprocal communication maintained between the provinces. The circulation of commodities brings on in reality the golden age, in which ſtreams of milk and honey are ſaid to have flowed through the plains. All the lands are cultivated; the meadows are favourable to tillage by the cattle they feed; the growth of corn promotes that of vines, by furniſhing a conſtant and certain ſubſiſtence to him who neither ſows nor reaps, but plants, prunes, and gathers.

Let us now conſider the effects of a contrary ſyſtem, and attempt to regulate agriculture, and the circula-

tion of its produce, by particular laws; and let us observe what calamities will enſue. Power will not only be deſirous of obſerving and being informed of every action, but will even want to aſſume every important act to itſelf, in conſequence of which nothing will ſucceed. Men will be led like their cattle, or tranſported like their corn; they will be collected and diſperſed at the will of a tyrant, to be ſlaughtered in war, or periſh upon fleets, or in different colonies. That which conſtitutes the life of a ſtate will become its deſtruction. Neither the lands nor the people will proſper, and the ſtates will tend quickly to their diſſolution; that is, to that ſeparation which is always preceded by the maſſacre of the people, as well as their tyrants. What will then become of manufactures?

Manufactures.

Agriculture gives birth to the arts, when it is carried to that degree of plenty, which gives men leiſure to invent, and procure themſelves the conveniencies of life; and when it has occaſioned a population ſufficiently numerous to be employed in other labours beſide thoſe of the land, then a people muſt neceſſarily become either ſoldiers, navigators, or manufacturers. As ſoon as war has changed the rude and ſavage manners of a laborious people; as ſoon as it has nearly circumſcribed the extent of their empire; thoſe men who were before engaged in the exerciſe of arms muſt then apply themſelves to the management of the oar, the ropes, the ſciſſars, or the ſhuttle; in a word, of all the inſtruments of commerce and induſtry; for the land, which ſupported ſuch a number of men without the aſſiſtance of their own labour, does not any more ſtand in need of it. As the arts ever have a country of their own, their peculiar place of refuge, where they are carried on and flouriſh in tranquillity, it is eaſier to repair thither in ſearch of them, than to wait at home till they ſhall have grown up, and advanced with the tardy progreſſion of ages, and the favour of chance, which preſides over the diſcoveries of genius. Thus every nation of Europe that has had any induſtry, has borrowed the moſt conſiderable ſhare

BOOK XIX. of the arts from Aſia. There invention ſeems to have been coëval with mankind.

The beauty and fertility of thoſe climates have always produced a moſt numerous race of people, as well as abundance of fruits of all kinds. There laws and arts, the offspring of genius and tranquillity, have ariſen from the ſtability of empires; and luxury, the ſource of every enjoyment that attends induſtry, has ſprung out of the richneſs of the ſoil. India, China, Perſia, and Egypt, were in poſſeſſion not only of all the treaſures of nature, but alſo of the moſt brilliant inventions of art. War in theſe countries hath often deſtroyed every monument of genius, but they riſe again out of their own ruins, as well as mankind. Not unlike thoſe laborious ſwarms we ſee periſh in their hives by the wintry blaſt of the north, and which reproduce themſelves in ſpring, retaining ſtill the ſame love of toil and order; there are certain Aſiatic nations which have ſtill preſerved the arts of luxury with the materials that ſupply them, notwithſtanding the invaſions and conqueſts of the Tartars.

It was in a country ſucceſſively ſubdued by the Scythians, Romans, and Saracens, that the nations of Europe, which not even Chriſtianity nor time could civilize, recovered the arts and ſciences, without endeavouring to diſcover them. The Cruſades exhauſted the fanatic zeal of thoſe who engaged in them, and changed their barbarous manners at Conſtantinople. It was by journeying to viſit the tomb of their Saviour, who was born in a manger, and died on a croſs, that they acquired a taſte for magnificence, pomp, and wealth. By them the Aſiatic grandeur was introduced into the courts of Europe. Italy, the ſeat from whence religion ſpread her empire over other countries, was the firſt to adopt a ſpecies of induſtry that was of benefit to her temples, the ceremonies of her worſhip, and thoſe proceſſions which ſerve to keep up devotion by means of the ſenſes, when once it has engaged the heart. Chriſtian Rome, after having borrowed her rites from the eaſtern nations, was ſtill to

draw from thence the wealth by which they are ſupported.

Venice, whoſe galleys were ranged under the banner of liberty, could not fail of being induſtrious. The people of Italy eſtabliſhed manufactures, and were a long time in poſſeſſion of all the arts, even when the conqueſt of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies had cauſed the treaſures of the whole world to circulate in Europe. Flanders derived her manual arts from Italy; England obtained thoſe ſhe eſtabliſhed from Flanders; and France borrowed the general induſtry of all countries. Of the Engliſh ſhe purchaſed her ſtocking-looms, which work ten times as faſt as the needle. The number of hands unoccupied from the introduction of the loom, were employed in making of lace, which was taken from the Flemings. Paris ſurpaſſed Perſia in her carpets, and Flanders in her tapeſtry, in the elegance of her patterns, and the beauty of her dyes; and excelled Venice in the tranſparency and ſize of her mirrors. France learned to diſpenſe with part of the ſilks ſhe received from Italy, and with Engliſh broad cloths. Germany, together with her iron and copper mines, has always preſerved the ſuperiority ſhe had acquired in melting, tempering, and working up thoſe metals. But the art of giving the poliſh and faſhion to every article that can be concerned in the ornaments of luxury and the conveniencies of life, ſeems to belong peculiarly to the French; whether it be that, from the vanity of pleaſing others, they find the means of ſucceeding by all the outward appearances of brilliant ſhow; or that in reality grace and eaſe are the conſtant attendants of a people naturally lively and gay, and who by inſtinct are in poſſeſſion of taſte.

Every people given to agriculture ought to have arts to employ their materials, and ſhould multiply their productions to maintain their artiſts. Were they acquainted only with the labours of the field, their induſtry muſt be confined in its cauſe, its means, and its effects. Having but few wants and deſires, they

BOOK XIX. would exert themſelves but little, employ fewer hands, and work leſs time. Their cultivation would neither be extended nor improved. Should ſuch a people be poſſeſſed of more arts than materials, they muſt be indebted to ſtrangers, who would ruin their manufactures, by ſinking the price of their articles of luxury, and raiſing the value of their ſubſiſtence. But when a people, engaged in agriculture, join induſtry to property, the culture of their produce to the art of working it up, they have then within themſelves every thing neceſſary for their exiſtence and preſervation, every ſource of greatneſs and proſperity. Such a people is endued with a power of accompliſhing every thing they wiſh, and ſtimulated with a deſire of acquiring every thing that is poſſible.

Nothing is more favourable to liberty than the arts; it may be ſaid to be their element, and that they are, in their nature, citizens of the world. An able artiſt may work in every country, becauſe he works for the world in general. Genius and abilities every where avoid ſlavery, while ſoldiers find it in all parts. When, through the want of toleration in the clergy, the Proteſtants were driven out of France, they opened to themſelves a refuge in every civilized ſtate in Europe: but prieſts, baniſhed from their own country, have found no aſylum any where; not even in Italy, the parent of monachiſm and intoleration.

The arts multiply the means of acquiring riches, and contribute, by a greater diſtribution of wealth, to a more equitable repartition of property. Thus is prevented that exceſſive inequality among men, the unhappy conſequence of oppreſſion, tyranny, an lethargic ſtate of a whole people.

How many objects of inſtruction and admiration doth not the moſt enlightened man find in manufactures and workſhops! To ſtudy the productions of nature is undoubtedly beautiful; but is it not more intereſting to know the different means made uſe of by the arts, either to alleviate the misfortunes, or to increaſe the enjoyments of life? Should we be in

ſearch of genius, let us go into the workſhops, and there we ſhall find it under a thouſand different forms. If one man alone had been the inventor of the manufacture for figured ſtuffs, he would have diſplayed more intelligence than Leibnitz or Newton: and I may venture to ſay, that there is no problem in the mathematical principles of the latter, more difficult to be ſolved, than that of weaving a thread by the aſſiſtance of a machine. Is it not a ſhameful thing to ſee the objects which ſurround us viewing themſelves in a glaſs, while they are unacquainted with the manner in which glaſs is melted; or clothing themſelves in velvet to keep out the cold, while they know not how it is manufactured? Let men who are well informed, go and aſſiſt with their knowledge the wretched artiſan, condemned blindly to follow the routine he has been uſed to, and they may be certain of being indemnified by the ſecrets he will impart to them. The torch of induſtry ſerves to enlighten at once a vaſt horizon. No art is ſingle: the greater part of them have their forms, modes, inſtruments, and elements, that are peculiar to them. The mechanics themſelves have contributed prodigiouſly to extend the ſtudy of mathematics. Every branch of the genealogical tree of ſcience has unfolded itſelf with the progreſs of the arts, as well liberal as manual. Mines, mills, the manufacture and dying of cloth, have enlarged the ſphere of philoſophy and natural hiſtory. Luxury has given riſe to the art of enjoyment, which is entirely dependent on the liberal arts. As ſoon as architecture admits of ornaments without, it brings with it decorations for the inſide of our houſes; while ſculpture and painting are at the ſame time employed in the embelliſhment and adorning of the edifice. The art of deſign is applied to our dreſs and furniture. The pencil, ever fertile in new deſigns, is varying without end its ſketches and ſhades on our ſtuffs and our porcelain. The powers of genius are exerted in compoſing at leiſure maſter-pieces of poetry and eloquence, or thoſe happy ſyſtems of policy and philoſophy, which

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reſtore to the people their natural rights, and to ſovereigns all their glory, which conſiſts in reigning over the heart and the mind, over the opinion and will of their ſubjects, by the means of reaſon and equity.

Then it is that the arts produce that ſpirit of ſociety which conſtitutes the happineſs of civil life; which gives relaxation to the more ſerious occupations, by entertainments, ſhows, concerts, converſations, in ſhort, by every ſpecies of agreeable amuſement. Eaſe gives to every virtuous enjoyment an air of liberty, which connects and mingles the ſeveral ranks of men. Employment adds a value or a charm to the pleaſures that are its recompence. Every citizen depending upon the produce of his induſtry for ſubſiſtence, has leiſure for all the agreeable or toilſome occupations of life, as well as that repoſe of mind which leads on to the ſweets of ſleep. Many, indeed, fall victims to avarice, but ſtill leſs than to war or ſuperſtition, the continual ſcourges of an idle people.

After the cultivation of the land, the encouragement of the arts and ſciences is the next object that deſerves the attention of man. At preſent, both ſerve to conſtitute the ſtrength of civilized governments. If the arts have tended to weaken mankind, then the weaker people muſt have prevailed over the ſtrong; for the balance of Europe is in the hands of thoſe nations which are in poſſeſſion of the arts.

Since manufactures have prevailed in Europe, the human heart, as well as the mind, have changed their bent and diſpoſition. The deſire of wealth has ariſen in all parts from the love of pleaſure. We no longer ſee any people ſatisfied with being poor becauſe poverty is no longer the bulwark of liberty. We are obliged, indeed, to confeſs, that the arts in this world ſupply the place of virtues. Induſtry may give birth to vices; but it baniſhes, however, thoſe of idleneſs, which are infinitely more dangerous. As information gradually diſpels every ſpecies of fanaticiſm, while men are employed in the gratifications of luxury, they do not deſtroy one another through ſuperſtition. At leaſt,

human blood is never ſpilt without ſome appearance of intereſt; and war, probably, deſtroys only thoſe violent and turbulent men, who in every ſtate are born to be enemies to, and diſturbers of all order, without any other talent, any other propenſity, than that of doing miſchief. The arts reſtrain that ſpirit of diſſenſion, by ſubjecting man to ſtated and daily employments. They beſtow on every rank of life the means and the hopes of enjoyment, and give even the meaneſt a kind of eſtimation and importance, by the advantage that reſults from them. A workman at forty has been of more real value to the ſtate than a whole family of vaſſals who were employed in tillage under the old feudal ſyſtem. An opulent manufacture brings more benefit into a village, than twenty caſtles of ancient barons, whether hunters or warriors, ever conferred on their province.

If it be a fact, that in the preſent ſtate of things, the people who are the moſt induſtrious ought to be the moſt happy and the moſt powerful, either becauſe in wars that are unavoidable they furniſh of themſelves, or purchaſe by their wealth, more ſoldiers, more ammunition, more forces, both for ſea or land ſervice; or that having a greater intereſt in maintaining peace, they avoid conteſts, or terminate them by negotiation; or that, in caſe of a defeat, they the more readily repair their loſſes by the effect of labour; or that they are bleſſed with a milder and more enlightened government, notwithſtanding the means of corruption and ſlavery that tyranny is ſupplied with, by the effeminacy which luxury produces; in a word, if the arts really civilize nations, a ſtate ought to neglect no opportunity of making manufactures flouriſh.

Theſe opportunities depend on the climate, which, as Polybius ſays, forms the character, complexion, and manners of nations. The moſt temperate climate muſt neceſſarily be the moſt favourable to that kind of induſtry which requires leſs exertion. If the climate be too hot, it is inconſiſtent with the eſtabliſhment of manufactures, which require the concurrence of ſeveral

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persons together to carry on the same work; and it excludes all those arts which employ furnaces or strong lights. If the climate prove too cold, it is not proper for those arts which can only be carried on in the open air. At too great or too small a distance from the equator, man is unfit for several labours, which seem peculiarly adapted to a mild temperature. In vain did Peter the Great search among the best-regulated states for all such arts as were best calculated to civilize his people: during a period of fifty years, not one of these principles of civilization has been able to flourish among the frozen regions of Russia. All artists are strangers in that land; and if they endeavour to reside there, their talents and their works soon die with them. When Lewis XIV. in his old age (as if that were the time of life for proscriptions) persecuted the Protestants, in vain did they introduce their arts and trades among the people who received them; they were no longer able to work in the same manner as they had done in France. Though they were equally active and laborious, the arts they had introduced were lost, or they declined, from not having the advantage of the same climate and heat to animate them.

To the favourable disposition of climate, for the encouragement of manufactures, should be added the advantage of the political situation of the state. When it is of such extent as to have nothing to fear or want in point of security; when it is in the neighbourhood of the sea for the landing of its materials, and the exportation of its manufactures; when it is situated between powers that have iron mines to employ its industry, and others that have mines of gold to reward it; when it has nations on each side, with ports and roads open on every side; such a state will have all the external advantages necessary to excite a people to open a variety of manufactures.

But one advantage still more essential is fertility of soil. If cultivation should require too many hands, there will be a want of labourers, or the manufacturers will employ so many hands, that there will not be men

enough to cultivate the fields; and this muſt occaſion a dearneſs of proviſions, which, while it raiſes the price of workmanſhip, will alſo diminiſh the number of trades.

Where fertility of ſoil is wanting, manufactures require, at leaſt, as few men to be employed as poſſible. A nation that ſhould expend much on its mere ſubſiſtence, would abſorb the whole profits of its induſtry. When the gratifications of luxury are greater or more expenſive than the means of ſupplying them, the ſource from which they are derived is loſt, and they can no longer be ſupported. If the workman will feed and clothe himſelf like the manufacturer who employs him, the manufacture is ſoon ruined. The degree of frugality that republican nations adhere to from motives of virtue, the manufacturer ought to obſerve from views of parſimony. This may be the reaſon, perhaps, that the arts, even thoſe of luxury, are more adapted to republics than monarchies; for, under monarchical inſtitutions, poverty is not always the ſharpeſt ſpur with the people to induſtry. Labour, proceeding from hunger, is narrow and confined, like the appetite it ſprings from; but the work that ariſes from ambition ſpreads and increaſes as naturally as the vice itſelf.

National character has conſiderable influence over the progreſs of the arts of luxury and ornament. Some people are fitted for invention by that levity which naturally inclines them to novelty. The ſame nation is fitted for the arts, by their vanity, which inclines them to the ornament of dreſs. Another nation, leſs lively, has leſs taſte for trivial matters, and is not fond of changing faſhions. Being of a more ſerious turn, theſe people are more inclined to indulge in exceſſes of the table, and in drinking, which relieves them from all anxiety and apprehenſion. Of theſe nations, the one muſt ſucceed better than its rival in the arts of decoration, and muſt have the preference over it among all the other nations which are fond of the ſame arts.

The advantages which manufactures derive from nature are further ſeconded by the form of governmen-

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While induſtry is favourable to national liberty, that in return ſhould aſſiſt induſtry. Excluſive privileges are enemies to commerce and the arts, which are to be encouraged only by competition. Even the rights of apprenticeſhip, and the value ſet on corporations, are a kind of monopoly. The ſtate is prejudiced by that ſort of privilege which favours incorporated trades; that is to ſay, petty communities are protected at the expence of the greater body. By taking from the lower claſs of the people the liberty of chooſing the profeſſion that ſuits them, every profeſſion is filled with bad workmen. Such as require greater talents are exerciſed by thoſe who are the moſt wealthy; the meaner, and leſs expenſive, fall often to the ſhare of men born to excel in ſome ſuperior art. As both are engaged in a profeſſion for which they have no taſte, they neglect their work, and prejudice the art: the firſt, becauſe they have no abilities; the latter, becauſe they are convinced that their abilities are ſuperior to it. But if we remove the impediment of corporate bodies, we ſhall produce a competition in the workmen, and conſequently the work will increaſe, as well as be more perfect.

It may be a queſtion, whether it be beneficial to collect manufactures in large towns, or to diſperſe them over the country. This point is determined by facts. The arts of primary neceſſity have remained where they were firſt produced, in thoſe places which have furniſhed the materials for them. Forges are in the neighbourhood of the mine, and linen near the flax. But the complicated arts of induſtry and luxury cannot be carried on in the country. If we diſperſe over a large extent of territory all the arts which are combined in watch and clock-making, we ſhall ruin Geneva, with all the works that ſupport it. If we diſperſe among the different provinces of France the ſixty thouſand workmen who are employed in the ſtuff manufactory of Lyons, we ſhall annihilate taſte, which is kept up only by the competition of a great number of rivals, who are conſtantly employed in endeavour-

ing to ſurpaſs each other. The perfection of ſtuffs requires their being made in a town, where fine dyes may at once be united with beautiful patterns, and the art of working up woollens and ſilks with that of making gold and ſilver lace. If there be wanting eighteen hands to make a pin, through how many manual arts, and artificers, muſt a laced coat, or an embroidered waiſtcoat, paſs? How ſhall we be able to find, amidſt an interior central province, the immenſe apparatus of arts that contribute to the furniſhing of a palace, or the entertainments of a court? Thoſe arts, therefore, that are moſt ſimple and unconnected with others, muſt be confined to the country; and ſuch clothes as are fit for the lower claſs of people muſt be made in the provinces. We muſt eſtabliſh between the capital and the other towns a reciprocal dependence of wants and conveniences, of materials and works; but ſtill nothing muſt be done by authority or compulſion; workmen muſt be left to act for themſelves. Let there be freedom of traffic and freedom of induſtry, and manufactures will proſper, population will increaſe.

Has the world been more peopled at one time than another? This is not to be aſcertained from hiſtory, on account of the deficiency of hiſtorians in one half of the globe that has been inhabited, and becauſe one half of what is related by hiſtorians is fabulous. Who has ever taken, or could at any time take, an account of the inhabitants of the earth? She was, it is ſaid, more fruitful in earlier times. But when was the period of this golden age? Was it when a dry ſand aroſe from the bed of the ſea, purged itſelf in the rays of the ſun, and cauſed the ſlime to produce vegetables, animals, and human creatures? But the whole ſurface of the earth muſt alternately have been covered by the ocean. The earth has then always had, like the individuals of every ſpecies, an infant ſtate, a ſtate of weakneſs and ſterility, before ſhe arrived at the age of fertility. All countries have been for a long time buried under water, lying uncultivated beneath ſands

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BOOK XIX. and moraſſes, wild and overgrown with buſhes and foreſts, till the human ſpecies, being thrown by accident on theſe deſerts and ſolitudes, has cleared, altered, and peopled the land. But as all the cauſes of population are ſubordinate to thoſe natural laws which govern the univerſe, as well as to the influences of ſoil and atmoſphere, which are ſubject to a number of calamities, it muſt ever have varied with thoſe periods of nature that have been either adverſe or favourable to the increaſe of mankind. However, as the lot of every ſpecies ſeems in a manner to depend on its faculties, the hiſtory of the progreſs and improvement of human induſtry muſt therefore, in general, ſupply us with the hiſtory of the population of the earth. On this ground of calculation, it is at leaſt doubtful, whether the world was formerly better inhabited and more peopled than it is at preſent.

Let us leave Aſia under the vail of that antiquity which reports it to us ever covered with innumerable nations, and ſwarms of people ſo prodigious, that (notwithſtanding the fertility of a ſoil which ſtands in need but of one ray of the ſun to enable it to produce all ſorts of fruit) men did but juſt ariſe, and ſucceed one another with the utmoſt rapidity, and were deſtroyed either by famine, peſtilence, or war. Let us conſider with more attention the population of Europe, which ſeems to have taken the place of Aſia, by conferring upon art all the powers of nature.

In order to determine whether our continent was, in former ages, more inhabited than at preſent, it would be neceſſary to know whether public ſecurity was better eſtabliſhed at that time, whether the arts were in a more flouriſhing condition, and whether the land was better cultivated. This is what we muſt inveſtigate.

Firſt, in theſe diſtant periods, the political inſtitutions were very defective. Thoſe ill-regulated governments were agitated with continual factions. The civil wars which ſprang from theſe diviſions were frequent and cruel. It often happened that one half of the people were maſſacred by the other half. Thoſe

citizens who had escaped the sword of the conqueror took refuge upon an unfavourable territory. From that asylum they did every possible mischief to an implacable enemy, till a new revolution enabled them to take memorable and complete vengeance for the calamities which they had endured. BOOK XIX.

The arts had not more vigour than the laws. Commerce was so limited, as to be reduced to the exchange of a small number of productions peculiar to some territories and to some climates. The manufactures were so little varied, that both the sexes were equally obliged to clothe themselves with a woollen stuff, which even was but seldom dyed. All the branches of industry were so little advanced, that there did not exist a single city which was indebted to them for its increase or its prosperity. This was the effect and the cause of the general contempt in which these several occupations were holden.

It was difficult for commodities to find a certain and advantageous vent, in regions where the arts were in a languid state. Accordingly, agriculture felt the effects of this want of consumption. It is a certain proof, that most of these fine countries remained untilled, because the climate was evidently more rude than it hath since been. If immense forests had not deprived the countries of the influence of the beneficent planet which animates every thing, would our ancestors have had more to suffer from the rigour of the season than ourselves?

These facts, which cannot reasonably be called in question, demonstrate that the number of men was then very much limited in Europe; and that, excepting one or two countries, which may have fallen off from their ancient population, all the rest had only a few inhabitants.

What were those multitudes of people which Cæsar reckoned in Gaul, but a set of savage nations, more formidable in name than number? Were all those Britons, who were subdued in their island by two Roman legions, much more numerous than the Corsicans

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at preſent? Muſt not the North have been ſtill leſs peopled? Regions where the ſun ſcarce appears above the horizon; where the courſe of the waters is ſuſpended for eight months in the year; where heaps of ſnow cover, for the ſame ſpace of time, a ſoil frequently barren; where trees are rooted up by the winds; where the corn, the plants, and the ſprings, every thing which contributes to the ſupport of life, is in a ſtate of annihilation; where the bodies of all men are afflicted with pain; where reſt, more fatal than the moſt exceſſive fatigues, is followed by the moſt dreadful calamities; where the arms of children are ſtiffened, while they are ſtretching them up to their mothers; and where their tears are converted to icicles on their cheeks; where nature.... Such regions could only have been inhabited at ſome late period, and then only by ſome unfortunate people, flying from ſlavery or tyranny. They have never multiplied under ſo intemperate a ſky. Over the face of the whole globe, numerous ſocieties have always left behind them ſome durable monuments or ruins, but in the North there are abſolutely no remains which bear the impreſſion of human power or induſtry.

The conqueſt of the fineſt part of Europe, in the ſpace of three or four centuries, by the inhabitants of the moſt northern nations, ſeems at firſt ſight to argue againſt what we have been ſaying. But let us conſider, that theſe were the people of a territory ten times as large, who poſſeſſed themſelves of a country inhabited at preſent by three or four nations only; and that it was not owing to the number of her conquerors, but to the revolt of her ſubjects, that the Roman empire was deſtroyed and reduced to ſubjection. In this aſtoniſhing revolution, we may readily admit that the victorious nations did not amount to one twentieth part of thoſe that were conquered; becauſe the former made their attacks with half their numbers of effective men, and the latter employed no more than the hundredth part of their inhabitants in their defence. But a people, who engage entirely in their own de-

fence and ſupport, are more powerful than ten armies raiſed by kings and princes. BOOK XIX.

Beſides, thoſe long and bloody wars, with the accounts of which ancient hiſtory is replete, are deſtructive of that exceſſive population they ſeem to prove. If, on the one hand, the Romans endeavoured to ſupply the loſſes their armies ſuſtained in conſequence of the victories they obtained, that deſire of conqueſt to which they were devoted, deſtroyed at leaſt other nations; for as ſoon as the Romans had ſubdued any people, they incorporated them into their own armies, and exhauſted their ſtrength as much by recruits, as by the tribute they impoſed upon them. It is well known with what rage wars were carried on by the ancients; that often in a ſiege, the whole town was laid in aſhes; men, women, and children, periſhed in the flames, rather than fall under the dominion of the conqueror; that in aſſaults, every inhabitant was put to the ſword; that in regular engagements, it was thought more deſireable to die ſword in hand, than to be led in triumph, and be condemned to perpetual ſlavery. Were not theſe barbarous cuſtoms of war injurious to population? If, as we muſt allow, ſome unhappy men were preſerved to be the victims of ſlavery, this was but of little ſervice to the increaſe of mankind, as it eſtabliſhed in a ſtate an extreme inequality of conditions among beings by nature equal. If the diviſion of ſocieties into ſmall colonies or ſtates, were adapted to multiply families by the partition of lands; it likewiſe more frequently occaſioned conteſts among the nations; and as theſe ſmall ſtates touched one another, as it were, in an infinite number of points, in order to defend them, every inhabitant was obliged to take up arms. Large bodies are not eaſily put into motion on account of their bulk; ſmall ones are in perpetual motion, which entirely deſtroys them.

If war were deſtructive of population in ancient times, peace was not always able to promote and reſtore it. Formerly all nations were ruled by deſpotic

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or ariſtocratic power, and theſe two forms of government are by no means favourable to the increaſe of the human ſpecies. The free cities of Greece were ſubject to laws ſo complicated, that there were continual diſſenſions among the citizens. Even the inferior claſs of people, who had no right of voting obtained a ſuperiority in the public aſſemblies, where a man of talents, by the power of eloquence, might put ſo many men into commotion. Beſides, in theſe ſtates, population tended to be confined to the city, in conjunction with ambition, power, riches, and, in ſhort, all the effects and ſprings of liberty. Not but that the lands under the democratical ſtates muſt have been well cultivated and well peopled. But the democracies were few; and as they were all ambitious, and could only aggrandize themſelves by war, if we except Athens, whoſe commerce, indeed, was alſo owing to the ſuperiority of its arms, the earth could not long flouriſh and increaſe in population. In a word, Greece and Italy were at leaſt the only countries better peopled than they are at preſent.

Except in Greece, which repelled, reſtrained, and ſubdued Aſia; in Carthage, which appeared for a moment on the borders of Africa, and ſoon declined to its former ſtate; and in Rome, which brought into ſubjection and deſtroyed the known world; where do we find ſuch a degree of population, as will bear any compariſon with what a traveller meets with every day on every ſea-coaſt, along all the great rivers, and on the roads leading to capital cities? What vaſt foreſts are turned to tillage? What harveſts are waving in the place of reeds that covered marſhy grounds? What numbers of civilized people who ſubſiſt on dried fiſh and ſalted proviſions?

Notwithſtanding this, there hath ariſen, for ſome years paſt, an almoſt general exclamation reſpecting the depopulation of all ſtates. We think we can diſcover the cauſe of theſe ſtrange exclamations. Men preſſing, as it were, one upon the other, have left be-

find them ſome regions leſs inhabited; and the different diſtribution of mankind hath been taken for a diminution of the human race. BOOK XIX.

During a long ſeries of ages empires were divided into ſo many ſovereignties, as there were private noblemen in them. Then theſe ſubjects, or the ſlaves of theſe petty deſpots, were fixed, and that for ever, upon the territory where they were born. At the abolition of the feudal ſyſtem, when there remained no more than one maſter, one king, and one court, all men crowded to that ſpot, from whence favours, riches, and honour flowed. Such was the origin of thoſe proud capitals, where the people have been ſucceſſively heaped one upon another, and which are gradually become, in a manner, the general aſſembly of each nation.

Other cities, leſs extenſive, but ſtill very conſiderable, have alſo been raiſed in each province, in proportion as the ſupreme authority hath been confirmed. They have been formed by the tribunals, public buſineſs, and the arts, and they have been conſtantly more and more increaſed, by the taſte for the conveniencies and pleaſures of ſociety.

Theſe new eſtabliſhments could not be formed but at the expence of the country places. Accordingly, there are ſcarce any inhabitants remaining there, except ſuch as were neceſſary for the tilling of the lands, and for the employments that are inſeparable from it. The productions have not felt the effect of this revolution; they are even become more abundant, more varied, and more agreeable, becauſe more of them have been ſought after, and better paid; becauſe the methods and the inſtruments have acquired a degree of ſimplicity and of improvement they had not formerly; and becauſe the cultivators, encouraged in a variety of ways, have become more active and more intelligent.

In the police, in the morals, and in the politics, of the moderns, we may diſcern many cauſes of propagation that did not exiſt among the ancients; but at

BOOK XIX. the ſame time, we obſerve likewiſe ſome impediments which may prevent or diminiſh among us that ſort of progreſs, which, in our ſpecies, ſhould be moſt conducive to its being raiſed to the greateſt degree of perfection: for population will never be very conſiderable, unleſs men are more numerous and more happy.

Population depends, in a great meaſure, on the diſtribution of landed property. Families are multiplied in the ſame manner as poſſeſſions; and when theſe are too large, they are always injurious to population from their inordinate extent. A man of conſiderable property, working only for himſelf, ſets apart one half of his lands for his income, and the other for his pleaſures. All he appropriates to hunting, is a double loſs in point of cultivation; for he breeds animals on the land that ſhould be appropriated to men, inſtead of ſubſiſting men on the land which is appropriated to animals. Wood is neceſſary in a country for edifices and fuel; but is there any occaſion for ſo many avenues in a park, or for parterres and kitchen-gardens, of ſuch extent as belong to a large eſtate? in this caſe, does luxury, which in its magnificence contributes to the ſupport of the arts, prove as favourable to the increaſe of mankind as it might by employing the land to better purpoſes? Too many large eſtates, therefore, and too few ſmall ones, this is the firſt impediment to population.

The next obſtacle is the unalienable domains of the clergy. When ſo much property remains for ever in the ſame hands, how ſhall population flouriſh, while it entirely depends upon the improvement of lands by the increaſe of ſhares among different proprietors? What intereſt has the incumbent to increaſe the value of an eſtate he is not to tranſmit to any ſucceſſor, to ſow or plant for a poſterity not derived from himſelf? Far from diminiſhing his income to improve his lands, will he not rather impair the eſtate, in order to increaſe the rents which he is to enjoy only for life?

The entails of eſtates in great families are not leſs prejudicial to the propagation of mankind. They ſet-

ken at once both the nobility and the other ranks of people. As the right of primogeniture among the great ſacrifices the younger children to the intereſt of the elder branch, in the ſame manner entails deſtroy ſeveral families for the ſake of a ſingle one. Almoſt all entailed eſtates are ill cultivated, on account of the negligence of a proprietor who is not attached to a poſſeſſion he is not to diſpoſe of, which has been ceded to him only with regret, and which is already given to his ſucceſſors, whom he cannot conſider as his heirs, becauſe they are not named by him. The right of primogeniture and of entail is therefore a law, one may ſay, made on purpoſe to defeat the increaſe of population in any ſtate.

From theſe obſtacles to population, produced by the defect of legiſlation, there ariſes a third, which is the poverty of the people. Wherever the farmers have not the property of the ground-rent, their life is miſerable, and their condition precarious. Not being certain of their ſubſiſtence, which depends on their health, having but ſmall reliance on their ſtrength, which is not at their own diſpoſal, and weary of their exiſtence, they are afraid of breeding a race of wretched beings. It is an error to imagine that plenty of children are produced in the country, where there die as many, if not more, than are born every year. The toil of the father and the milk of the mother are loſt to them and their children; for they will never attain to the flower of their age, or to that period of maturity, which, by its ſervices, will recompence all the pains that have been beſtowed upon their education. With a ſmall portion of land, the mother might bring up her child, and cultivate her own little garden, while the father, by his labour abroad, might add to the conveniencies of his family. Theſe three beings, without property, languiſh upon the little that one of them gains, or the child periſhes.

What a variety of evils ariſe from a faulty or defective legiſlation! Vices and calamities are infinite in their effects; they mutually aſſiſt each other in ſpread-

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king general deſtruction, and ariſe from one another, till they are both exhauſted. The indigence of the country produces an increaſe of troops, a burden ruinous in its nature, deſtructive of men in time of war, and of land in time of peace. It is certain that the military deſtroy the fields, which they do not cultivate themſelves; becauſe every ſoldier deprives the ſtate of a huſbandman, and burdens it with an idle or uſeleſs conſumer. He defends the country in time of peace, merely from a pernicious ſyſtem, which, under the pretext of defence, makes all nations aggreſſors. If all governments would, as they eaſily might, let thoſe men, whom they devote to the army, be employed in the labours of huſbandry, the number of huſbandmen and artiſans throughout Europe would in a ſhort time be conſiderably increaſed. All the powers of human induſtry would be exerted in improving the advantages of nature, and in ſurmounting every obſtacle to improvement; every thing would concur in promoting life, not in ſpreading deſtruction.

The deſerts of Ruſſia would be cleared, and the plains of Poland not laid waſte. The vaſt dominions of the Turks would be cultivated, and the bleſſings of their prophet would be extended over an immenſe population. Egypt, Syria, and Paleſtine, would again become what they were in the times of the Phœnicians, in the days of their ſhepherd kings, and of the Jews, who enjoyed happineſs and peace under their judges. The parched mountains of Sierra Morena would be rendered fertile, the heaths of Aquitaine would be cleared of inſects, and be covered with people.

But general good is merely the deluſive dream of benevolent men. This brings to my remembrance the virtuous prelate of Cambray, and the good Abbé of St. Pierre. Their works are compoſed with a deſign to make deſerts inhabited, not indeed with hermits, who fly from the vices and misfortunes of the world, but with happy families, who would proclaim the glory of God upon earth, as the ſtars declare it in

the firmament. Their writings abound with ſocial BOOK
views and ſentiments of humanity, and may be con- XIX.
ſidered as truly inſpired; for humanity is the gift of Heaven. Kings will inſure the attachment of their people, in proportion as they themſelves are attached to ſuch men.

It is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve, that one of the means to favour population, is to ſuppreſs the celibacy of the regular and ſecular clergy. Monaſtic inſtitutions have a reference to two eras remarkable in the hiſtory of the world. About the year 700 of Rome, Jeſus Chriſt was the founder of a new religion in the Eaſt; and the ſubverſion of Paganiſm was ſoon attended with that of the Roman empire itſelf. Two or three hundred years after the death of Chriſt, Egypt and Paleſtine were filled with monks. About the year 700 of the Chriſtian era, Mohammed appeared, and eſtabliſhed a new religion in the Eaſt; and Chriſtianity was transferred to Europe, where it fixed. Three or four hundred years afterwards, there aroſe multitudes of religious orders. At the time of the birth of Chriſt, the books of David, and thoſe of the Sybil, foretold the deſtruction of the world, a deluge, or rather an univerſal conflagration, and general judgment: and all people, oppreſſed by the dominion of the Romans, wiſhed for and believed in a general diſſolution. A thouſand years after the Chriſtian era, the books of David, and thoſe of the Sybil, ſtill announced the laſt judgment: and ſeveral penitents, as ferocious and wild in their extravagant piety as in their vices, ſold all their poſſeſſions to go to conquer and die upon the tomb of their Redeemer. The nations groaning under the tyranny of the feudal government, wiſhed for, and ſtill believed in, the end of the world.

While one part of the Chriſtian world, impreſſed with terror, went to periſh in the cruſades, another part were burying themſelves in cloiſters. This was the origin of the monaſtic life in Europe. Opinion gave riſe to monks, and it will be the cauſe of their deſtruction. The eſtates they poſſeſſed they will leave

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behind them for the uſe and increaſe of ſociety; and all thoſe hours, that are loſt in praying without devotion, will be conſecrated to their primitive intention, which is labour. The clergy are to remember, that, in the ſacred ſcriptures, God ſays to man, in a ſtate of innocence, Increaſe and multiply; to man, in a fallen ſtate, Till the earth, and work for thy ſubſiſtence. If the duties of the prieſthood ſeem yet to allow the prieſt to incumber himſelf with the care of a family and an eſtate, the duties of ſociety more ſtrongly forbid celibacy. If the monks, in earlier times, cleared the deſerts they inhabited, they now contribute to depopulate the towns where their number is very great: if the clergy has ſubſiſted on the alms of the people, they in their turn reduce the people to beggary. Among the idle claſſes of ſociety, the moſt prejudicial is that which, from its very principles, muſt tend to promote a general ſpirit of indolence among men; make them waſte at the altar, as well the work of the bees, as the ſalary of the workmen; which burns in day-time the candles that ought to be reſerved for the night, and makes men loſe in the church that time they owe to the care of their families; which engages men to aſk of Heaven the ſubſiſtence that the ground only can give, or produce in return for their toil.

There is ſtill another cauſe of the depopulation of ſome ſtates, which is, that want of toleration which perſecutes and proſcribes every religion but that of the prince on the throne. This is a ſpecies of oppreſſion and tyranny peculiar to modern politics, to extend its influence even over men's thoughts and conſciences: a barbarous piety, which, for the ſake of exterior forms of worſhip, extinguiſhes, in ſome degree, the very idea of the exiſtence of God, by deſtroying multitudes of his worſhippers: it is an impiety ſtill more barbarous, that, on account of things ſo indifferent as religious ceremonies muſt appear, deſtroys the life of man, and impedes the population of ſtates, which ſhould be conſidered as points of the utmoſt importance. For neither the number nor the alleg-

of ſubjects is increaſed by exacting oaths contrary to conſcience, by forcing into ſecret perjury thoſe who are engaged in the marriage ties, or in the different profeſſions of a citizen. Unity in religion is proper only when it is naturally eſtabliſhed by conviction. When once that is at an end, a general liberty, if granted, would be the means of reſtoring tranquillity and peace of mind. When no diſtinction is made, but this liberty is fully and equally extended to every citizen, it can never diſturb the peace of families.

Next to the celibacy of the clergy and of the military, the former of which ariſes from profeſſion, the latter from cuſtom, there is a third, derived from convenience, and introduced by luxury: I mean that of life annuitants. Here we may admire the chain of cauſes. At the ſame time that commerce favours population by the means of induſtry both by land and ſea, by all the objects and operations of navigation, and by the ſeveral arts of cultivation and manufactures, it alſo decreaſes it by reaſon of all thoſe vices which luxury introduces. When riches have gained a general aſcendant over the minds of men, then opinions and manners alter by the intermixture of ranks. The arts and the talents of pleaſing corrupt ſociety while they poliſh it. When the intercourſe between the ſexes becomes frequent, they mutually ſeduce each other, and the weaker induce the ſtronger to adopt the frivolous turn for dreſs and amuſement. The women become children, and the men effeminate. Entertainments are the ſole topic of their converſation, and the object of their occupation. The manly and robuſt exerciſes, by which the youth were trained up to diſcipline, and prepared for the moſt important and dangerous profeſſions, give place to the love of public ſhows, where every paſſion that can render a nation effeminate is caught, as long as there is no appearance of a patriotic ſpirit among them. Indolence prevails among all perſons of eaſy circumſtances, and labour diminiſhes among that claſs of men deſtined to be employed in it. The variety of arts multiplies faſhions,

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and theſe increaſe our expences; articles of luxury become neceſſary; what is ſuperfluous is looked upon as needful; and people in general are better dreſſed, but do not live ſo well; and purchaſe clothes at the expence of the neceſſaries of life. The lower claſs of men become debauched before they are ſenſible of the paſſion of love; and, marrying late, have fewer or weaker children. The tradeſman ſeeks a fortune, not a wife; and he prematurely loſes both the one and the other, in the exceſſes of libertiniſm. The rich, whether married or not, are continually ſeducing women of every rank, or debauching girls of low condition. The difficulty of ſupporting the charges of marriage, and the readineſs of finding the joys of it without bearing any of its diſagreeable inconveniencies, tends to increaſe the number of unmarried people in every claſs of life. The man who renounces the hope of being the father of a family, conſumes his patrimony, and in concert with the ſtate, which increaſes his income, by borrowing money from him at a ruinous intereſt, he laviſhes upon one generation the ſupport of many; he extinguiſhes his own poſterity, as well as that of the women by whom he is rewarded, and that of the girls who are paid by him. Every kind of proſtitution prevails at the ſame time. Honour and duty are forfeited in every rank; the ruin of the women is but the forerunner of that of the men.

The nation that is inclined to gallantry, or rather to libertiniſm, ſoon loſes its power and credit in other countries, and is ruined at home. There is no longer any nobility, no longer any body of men to defend their own or the people's rights; for everywhere diviſion and ſelf-intereſt prevail. No one wiſhes to be ruined alone. The love of riches becomes the general object of attraction. The honeſt man is apprehenſive of loſing his fortune, and the man of no honour is intent upon making his: the one retires from the world, the other ſets himſelf up to ſale; and thus the ſtate is loſt. Such is the conſtant progreſs of commerce in a monarchical government. What its effects are in a

public we know from ancient hiſtory. But ſtill it is neceſſary at this period to excite men to commerce, becauſe the preſent ſituation of Europe is favourable to it, and commerce itſelf promotes population.

But it will be aſked, whether a great degree of population be uſeful in promoting the happineſs of mankind. This is an idle queſtion. In fact, the point is not to multiply men, in order to make them happy; but it is ſufficient to make them happy, that they ſhould multiply. All the means which concur in the proſperity of any ſtate, tend of themſelves to the propagation of its people. A legiſlator deſirous of an increaſe of people, merely to have a great number of ſoldiers and of ſubjects, only for the purpoſe of ſubduing his neighbours, would be a monſter, and an enemy to the human race, ſince his plans of political increaſe would be ſolely directed to the deſtruction of others. A legiſlator, on the contrary, who, like Solon, ſhould form a republic, whoſe multitudes might people the deſert coaſts of the ſea; or who, like Penn, ſhould make laws for the cultivation of his colony, and forbid war; ſuch a legiſlator would undoubtedly be conſidered as a god on earth. Even though his name ſhould not be immortalized, he would live in happineſs, and die contented, eſpecially if he could be certain of leaving behind him laws of ſuch wiſdom, as to free the people for ever from the vexation of taxes.

Taxes.

It is to be preſumed, from what we know of the ſtate of the ſavages, that the advantage of not being confined by the reſtraints of our ridiculous clothing, the unwholeſome incloſure of ſuperb edifices, and the complicated tyranny of our cuſtoms, laws, and manners, is not a compenſation for a precarious life, for contuſions received, and perpetual combats engaged for a portion of a foreſt, for a cavern, a bow, an arrow, a fruit, a fiſh, a bird, a quadruped, the ſkin of a beaſt, or the poſſeſſion of a woman. Let miſanthropy exaggerate at pleaſure the vices of our cities, it will not ſucceed in diſguiſing us of thoſe expreſs or tacit con-

BOOK XIX. ventions, nor of thoſe artificial virtues, which conſtitute the ſecurity and the charm of our ſocieties.

There are undoubtedly aſſaſſins among us, there are violaters of an aſylum, there are monſters whoſe avidity, indigence, or lazineſs, diſguſt the ſocial order. There are other monſters, perhaps more deteſtable, who, poſſeſſed of a plenty which would be ſufficient for two or three thouſand families, are only occupied in increaſing the miſery of them. I ſhall not the leſs implore benediction upon the public ſtrength, which moſt commonly inſures my perſon and my property, in return for the contributions which it requires from me.

A tax may be defined, a ſacrifice of a part of a man's property for the defence of the reſt: it follows from hence, that there ſhould not be any tax either among people in a ſtate of ſlavery, or among ſavages; for the former no longer enjoy any property, and the latter have not yet acquired any.

But when a nation poſſeſſes any large and valuable property, when its fortune is ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, and is conſiderable enough to make the expences of government neceſſary; when it has poſſeſſions, trade, and wealth capable of tempting the avidity of its neighbours, who may be poor or ambitious; then, in order to guard its frontiers, or its provinces, to protect its navigation, and keep up its police, there is a neceſſity for forces and for a revenue. It is but juſt and requiſite, that the perſons who are employed in any manner for the public good, ſhould be maintained by all the other orders of the ſociety.

There have been countries and times, in which a portion of the territory was aſſigned for the public expences of the ſtate. The government, not being enabled of itſelf to turn ſuch extenſive poſſeſſions to advantage, was forced to intruſt the charge to adminiſtrators, who either neglected the revenues, or appropriated them to their own uſe. This practice brought on ſtill greater inconveniences. Either the royal do-

were too conſiderable in time of peace, or inſufficient for the calls of war. In the firſt inſtance, the liberty of the ſtate was oppreſſed by the ruler of it; and in the latter, by ſtrangers. It has, therefore, been found neceſſary to have recourſe to the contributions of the citizens.

Theſe funds were in early times not conſiderable. The ſtipends then allowed were merely an indemnification to thoſe whom public affairs prevented from attending to thoſe employments that were neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence. Their reward aroſe from that pleaſing ſenſation which we experience from an internal conſciouſneſs of our own virtue, and from the view of the homage paid to it by other men. This moral wealth was the greateſt treaſure of riſing ſocieties; a kind of coin which it was equally the intereſt of government and of morality not to diminiſh the value of.

Honour held the place of taxes no leſs in the flouriſhing periods of Greece, than in the infant ſtate of ſocieties. The patriot, who ſerved his country, did not think he had any right to deſtroy it. The impoſt laid by Ariſtides on all Greece, for the ſupport of the war againſt Perſia, was ſo moderate, that thoſe who were to contribute of themſelves, called it *the happy fortune of Greece!* What times were theſe, and what a country, in which taxes made the happineſs of the people!

The Romans acquired power and empire almoſt without any aſſiſtance from the public treaſury. The love of wealth would have diverted them from the conqueſt of the world. The public ſervice was attended to without any views of intereſt, even after their manners had been corrupted.

Under the feudal government, there were no taxes; for on what could they have been levied? The man and the land were both the property of the lord. It was both a real and a perſonal ſervitude.

When knowledge began to diffuſe its light over Europe, the nations turned their thoughts towards their

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own ſecurity. They voluntarily furniſhed contributions to repreſs foreign and domeſtic enemies. But thoſe tributes were moderate, becauſe princes were not yet abſolute enough to divert them to purpoſes of their own caprices, or to the advantage of their ambition.

The New World was diſcovered, and the paſſion for conqueſt engaged every nation. That ſpirit of aggrandizement was inconſiſtent with the ſlowneſs with which affairs are managed in popular aſſemblies; and ſovereigns ſucceeded without much difficulty in appropriating to themſelves greater rights than they had ever before enjoyed. The impoſition of taxes was the moſt important of their uſurpations; and it is that, the conſequences of which have been the moſt pernicious.

Princes have even ventured to render the marks of ſervitude apparent upon all their ſubjects, by levying a poll-tax. Independent of the humiliation it is attended with, can any thing be more arbitrary than ſuch a tax?

Is the tax to be levied upon voluntary information? But this would require between the monarch and his ſubjects an attachment to each other ariſing from a principle of duty, which ſhould unite them by a mutual love of the general good; or, at leaſt, a regard to public welfare, to inſpire the one with confidence in the other, by a ſincere and reciprocal communication of their intelligence and of their ſentiments. Even then, upon what is this conſcientious principle to be founded, which is to ſerve as an inſtructor, a guide, and a check in the affairs of government?

Is the ſanctuary of families, or the cloſet of the citizen, to be invaded, in order to gain by ſurpriſe, and bring to light, what he does not chooſe to reveal, what it is often of importance to him not to diſcover? What an inquiſition is this! What an injurious violence! Though we ſhould even become acquainted with the reſources and means of ſubſiſtence of every individual, do they not vary from one year to another with the uncertain and precarious productions of induſtry? Are

not leſſened by the increaſe of children, by the decay of ſtrength through ſickneſs, age, and laborious occupations? The very faculties of the human ſpecies, which are uſeful and employed in laborious occupations, do they not change with thoſe viciſſitudes occaſioned by time in every thing that depends on nature and fortune? The perſonal tax is a vexation then to the individual, without being a general benefit. A poll-tax is a ſort of ſlavery, oppreſſive to the man, without being profitable to the ſtate.

After princes had impoſed this tax, which is a mark of deſpotiſm, or which leads to it ſooner or later, impoſts were then laid upon articles of conſumption. Sovereigns have affected to conſider this new tribute as in ſome meaſure voluntary, becauſe it riſes in proportion to the expences of the ſubject, which he is at liberty to increaſe or diminiſh according to his abilities, or his propenſities, which are for the moſt part factitious.

But if taxation affect the commodities which are of immediate neceſſity, it muſt be conſidered as an act of the greateſt cruelty. Previous to all the laws of ſociety, man had a right to ſubſiſt. And is he to loſe that right by the eſtabliſhment of laws? To ſell the produce of the earth to the people at a high price is in reality to deprive them of it: to wreſt from them by a tax the natural means of preſerving life, is, in fact, to affect the very principle of their exiſtence. By extorting the ſubſiſtence of the needy, the ſtate takes from him his ſtrength with his food. It reduces the poor man to a ſtate of beggary, and the labouring man to that of idleneſs: it makes the unfortunate man become a rogue; that is, it is the cauſe of bringing the man who is ready to ſtarve to an untimely end, from the extreme diſtreſs to which he is reduced.

If the impoſts affect commodities leſs neceſſary, how many hands, loſt to tillage and the arts, are employed, not in guarding the bulwarks of the empire, but in crowding the kingdom with an infinite number of uſeleſs barriers; in embarraſſing the gates of towns; in-

BOOK XIX. feſting the highways and roads of commerce; and ſearching into cellars, granaries, and ſtorehouſes! What a ſtate of war between prince and people, between ſubject and ſubject! How many priſons, galleys, and gibbets, prepared for a number of unhappy perſons who have been urged on to fraudulent practices to ſmuggling, and even to piracy, by the iniquity of the revenue laws!

The avidity of ſovereigns has extended itſelf from the articles of conſumption to thoſe of traffic carried on from one ſtate to another. Inſatiable tyrants! will ye never be ſenſible, that, if ye lay duties on what ye offer to the ſtranger, he will buy at a cheaper rate, he will give only the price demanded by other ſtates? if even your own ſubjects were the ſole proprietors of that produce you have taxed, they ſtill would never be able to make other nations ſubmit to ſuch exactions; for in that caſe the demand would be for a leſs quantity, and the overplus would oblige them to lower the price, in order to find a ſale for it.

The duty on merchandiſe, which one ſtate receives from another, is not leſs unreaſonable. The price of the goods being regulated by the competition of other countries, the duties will be paid by the ſubjects of that ſtate which buys commodities for its neighbours. Poſſibly, the increaſe in the price of foreign produce may diminiſh the conſumption of it. But if a leſs quantity of merchandiſe be ſold to any country, a leſs quantity will be purchaſed of it. The profits of trade are to be eſtimated in proportion to the quantity of merchandiſe ſold and bought. Commerce is in fact nothing more than exchange of the value of one commodity for that of another. It is not poſſible then to oppoſe the courſe of theſe exchanges, without lowering the value of the productions that are ſold, by reſtraining the ſale of them.

Whether, therefore, duties be laid on our own or on foreign merchandiſe, the induſtry of the ſubject will neceſſarily ſuffer by it. The means of payment will be fewer, and there will be leſs raw materials to work

The greater diminution there is in the annual produce, the greater alſo will be the decreaſe of labour. Then all the laws that can be made againſt beggars will be ineffectual, for man muſt live on what is given him, if he cannot live by what he earns. BOOK XIX.

But what then is the mode of taxation the moſt proper to conciliate the public intereſt with the rights of individuals? It is the land-tax. An impoſt is, with reſpect to the perſon upon whom it is charged, an annual expence. It can only, therefore, be aſſeſſed on an annual revenue; for nothing but an annual revenue can diſcharge an annual expence. Now there never can be any annual revenue, except that of the land. It is land only which returns yearly what has been beſtowed upon it, with an additional profit that may be diſpoſed of. It is but within theſe few years that we have begun to be ſenſible of this important truth. Some men of abilities will one day be able to demonſtrate the evidence of it: and that government which firſt makes this the foundation of its ſyſtem will neceſſarily be raiſed to a degree of proſperity unknown to all nations and all ages.

Perhaps there is no ſtate in Europe at preſent whoſe ſituation admits of ſo great a change. The taxes are everywhere ſo heavy, the expences ſo multiplied, the wants ſo urgent, the treaſury of the ſtate in general ſo much indebted, that a ſudden change in the mode of raiſing the public revenues would infallibly alter the confidence and diſturb the peace of the ſubject. But an enlightened and provident policy will tend, by ſlow and gradual ſteps, towards ſo ſalutary an end. With courage and prudence it will remove every obſtacle that prejudice, ignorance, and private intereſt, might have to oppoſe to a ſyſtem of adminiſtration, the advantages of which appear to us beyond all calculation.

In order that nothing may leſſen the benefits of this fortunate innovation, it will be neceſſary that all lands without diſtinction ſhould be ſubjected to taxation. The public weal is a treaſure in common, wherein every individual ſhould depoſit his tribute, his ſervice,

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and his abilities. Names and titles will never change the nature of men and their poſſeſſions. It would be the utmoſt meanneſs and folly to avail ourſelves of diſtinctions received from our anceſtors, in order to withdraw ourſelves from the burdens of ſociety. Every mark of diſtinction that is not of general utility ſhould be conſidered as injurious: it can only be equitable, when it is founded on a formal engagement of devoting our lives and fortunes in a more particular manner to the ſervice of our country.

If in our days the tax were laid for the firſt time upon the land, would it not neceſſarily be ſuppoſed that the contribution ſhould be proportioned to the extent and value of the eſtates? Would any one venture to allege his employments, his ſervices, his dignities, in order to ſcreen himſelf from the tributes required for the public ſervice? What connection have taxes with ranks, titles, and conditions? They relate only to the revenue: and this belongs to the ſtate, as ſoon as it becomes neceſſary for the public defence.

The manner in which the tax ought to be laid upon the lands is more difficult to aſcertain. Some writers have imagined, that eccleſiaſtical tithes, unfortunately levied in the greateſt part of Europe, would be a proper mode to be adopted. In that ſyſtem, ſay they, there could be no fraud nor miſtake. According as circumſtances ſhould require more efforts on the part of the people, the treaſury would take a fourth, a fifth, a ſixth part of the productions at the time of the harveſt; and every thing would be ſettled without conſtraint, without deceit, without miſtruſt, and without oppreſſion.

But, in this mode of levying, how will the tax be collected, for objects ſo multiplied, ſo variable, and ſo little known? Would not the form of adminiſtration require enormous expences? Would not the farming of the tax give occaſion to profits too conſiderable? If this arrangement ſhould therefore appear moſt fatal to citizens, would it not be moſt fatal to government? How can any one poſſibly doubt, that the inſ[illegible] of

th individual is the ſame as that of the ſociety? Can any one be ſtill ignorant of the cloſe connection there is between the ſovereign who aſks and the ſubjects who grant?

Beſides, this impoſt, apparently ſo equal, would in fact be the moſt diſproportioned of all thoſe which ignorance hath ever ſuggeſted. While one contributor ſhould be required to give up only the fourth of his revenue, one half, and ſometimes more, would be taken from others, who, in order to obtain the ſame quantity of productions, will have been obliged, by the nature of an ungrateful ſoil, or by the difficulty of working it, to ſupport expences infinitely more conſiderable.

Theſe inconveniences have occaſioned an idea to be rejected, which has been propoſed or ſupported by men little verſed in political economy, but diſguſted, with reaſon, at the arbitrary manner in which they ſaw the lands taxed. Suppoſe the extent of the domain be admitted as a rule, yet it muſt be conſidered that there are ſome lands which can pay a great deal, others which can pay little, and ſome, even, which can pay nothing, becauſe the profits remaining, after all the expences, are ſcarce ſufficient to determine the moſt intelligent man to cultivate them. If an exact ſtate of the leaſes be demanded, will not the farmers and proprietors act in concert to deceive the government? and what means are there to diſcover a fraud, planned with conſummate art? If you will allow men to give in the account of their own eſtates, for one of theſe declarations that ſhall be honeſt, will there not be a hundred falſe ones? and will not the citizen of ſtrict probity be the victim of him who is deſtitute of principles? In the mode of taking an eſtimation of the value of the lands, will not the agent of the treaſury ſuffer himſelf to be ſuborned by contributors whoſe intereſt it is to bribe him? Suppoſe the care of making the repartitions be left to the inhabitants of each diſtrict, it is undoubtedly the moſt equitable rule, the moſt conformable to the rights of nature and pro-

BOOK XIX. perty; and yet it muſt neceſſarily produce ſo many cabals, altercations, and animoſities, ſo violent a colliſion between the paſſions, which will interfere with each other, that it cannot be productive of that ſyſtem of equity which might enſure the public happineſs.

A regiſter book, which would cautiouſly meaſure the lands, which would appreciate, with equity, their value, would alone be capable of effecting this fortunate revolution. This principle, ſo ſimple and ſo evident, hath been rarely applied, and then but imperfectly. It is to be hoped, that this fine inſtitution, though warmly oppoſed by authority and by corruption, will be improved in thoſe ſtates where it has been adopted, and that it will be introduced in the empires where it doth not yet exiſt. The monarch who ſhall ſignalize his reign by this great benefit, will be bleſſed during his life, his memory will be dear to poſterity, and his felicity will be extended beyond ages, if, as it cannot be doubted, there exiſts a God, the remunerator of good actions.

But let not government, under whatever form it may have been eſtabliſhed, or ſtill ſubſiſts, ever carry the meaſure of impoſts to exceſs. It is ſaid, that in their origin they rendered men more active, more ſober, and more intelligent; and that they have thus contributed to the proſperity of empires. This opinion is not deſtitute of probability; but it is ſtill more certain, that, when the taxes have been extended beyond the proper limits, they have ſtopped the labours, extinguiſhed induſtry, and produced diſcouragement.

Though man hath been condemned by nature to perpetual watchings, in order to ſecure a ſubſiſtence, this urgent care hath not exerted all his faculties. His deſires have been extended much beyond this; and the more numerous are the objects which have entered into his plan of happineſs, the more repeated have been his efforts to attain them. If he hath been reduced, by tyranny, to expect nothing more from obſtinate labour than articles of primary neceſſity, his activity hath been diminiſhed; he hath himſelf con-

traced the ſphere of his wants. Troubled, ſoured, and exhauſted by the oppreſſive ſpirit of the treaſury, he hath either languiſhed by his wretched fire-ſide, or hath quitted his country in ſearch of a leſs unfortunate deſtiny, or hath led a wandering and vagabond life over deſolated provinces. Moſt ſocieties have, at different periods, ſuffered theſe calamities, and exhibited this hideous ſpectacle.

Accordingly, it is an error, and a very great one, to judge of the power of empires by the revenue of the ſovereign. This baſis of calculation would be the beſt that could be eſtabliſhed, if the tributes were proportioned to the abilities of the citizens; but when the republic is oppreſſed by the weight or the variety of the impoſts, theſe riches, far from being a ſign of national proſperity, are a mark of decay. The people, unable to furniſh any extraordinary aſſiſtance to the mother-country, when threatened or invaded, yield to a foreign yoke, and ſubmit to ſhameful and ruinous laws. The cataſtrophe is haſtened, when the treaſury has recourſe to the farming of the revenue, in order to collect the taxes.

The contribution of the citizens towards the public treaſury is a tribute; they ſhould preſent it themſelves to the ſovereign; who, on his part, ought prudently to direct the employment of it. Every intermediate agent deſtroys theſe connections, which cannot be too nearly united. His influence becomes an unavoidable ſource of diviſion and ravage. It is under this odious aſpect that the farmers of the taxes have always been conſidered.

The farmers of the revenue contrive the taxes; and it is their buſineſs to multiply them. They envelope them in obſcurity, in order to give them the degree of extenſion moſt ſuitable to themſelves. Their intereſts are ſupported by judges choſen by themſelves. They bribe every acceſs to the throne; and they cauſe at pleaſure their zeal to be extolled, or the people to be calumniated, who are diſſatisfied, with reaſon, at their vexations. By thoſe vile artifices they plunge the pro-

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vince into the loweſt degree of miſery, while their own coffers regurgitate with riches. Then it is that the laws, manners, honour, and the little remains of the blood of the nation, are ſold to them at the vileſt price. The contractor enjoys, without ſhame or remorſe, theſe infamous and criminal advantages, till he hath deſtroyed the ſtate, the prince, and himſelf.

Free nations have ſeldom experienced this terrible deſtiny. Humane and conſiderate principles have made them prefer an adminiſtration almoſt always of a paternal kind, to receive the contributions of the citizens. It is in abſolute governments that the tyrannical cuſtom of farming out the revenue is peculiarly adopted. Government have ſometimes been alarmed at the ravages occaſioned by this practice; but timid, ignorant, or indolent adminiſtrators, have apprehended, that in the confuſion in which things were, a total ſubverſion would be the conſequence of the leaſt change. Wherefore, then, ſhould not the time of the diſeaſe be that of the remedy? Then it is that the minds of men are better diſpoſed to a change, that oppoſition is leſs violent, and that the revolution is more eaſily accompliſhed.

It is not, however, ſufficient that the impoſt ſhould be levied with equity, and that it ſhould be collected with moderation; it is further neceſſary that it ſhould be proportioned to the wants of government, which are not always the ſame. War hath ever required in all countries, and in every age, more conſiderable expences than peace. The ancients made a proviſion for them by their economy in times of tranquillity. Since the advantages of circulation and the principles of induſtry have been better underſtood, the method of laying up ſpecie for this purpoſe has been proſcribed, and that of impoſing extraordinary taxes has been, with reaſon, preferred. Every ſtate that ſhould prohibit them would find itſelf obliged, in order to protract its fall, to have recourſe to the methods made uſe of at Conſtantinople. The Sultan, who can do every thing but augment his revenues, is conſtrained

to give up the empire to the extortions of his delegates, that he may afterwards deprive them of what they have plundered from his ſubjects. BOOK XIX.

That taxes may not be exorbitant, they ſhould be ordered, regulated, and adminiſtered by the repreſentatives of the people. The impoſt has ever depended on, and muſt be proportioned to, the property poſſeſſed. He who is not maſter of the produce, is not maſter of the field. Tributes, therefore, among all nations have always been firſt impoſed upon proprietors only; whether the lands were divided among the conquerors, or the clergy ſhared them with the nobles; or whether they paſſed, by means of commerce and induſtry, into the hands of the generality of the citizens. Everywhere, thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of them had reſerved to themſelves the natural, unalienable, and ſacred right of not being taxed without their own conſent. If we do not admit this principle, there is no longer any monarchy or any nation; there is nothing remaining but a deſpotic maſter and a herd of ſlaves.

Ye people, whoſe kings command every thing at pleaſure, read over again the hiſtory of your own country. You will ſee that your anceſtors aſſembled themſelves, and deliberated, whenever a ſubſidy was in agitation. If this cuſtom be neglected, the right is not loſt; it is recorded in heaven, which has given the earth to mankind to poſſeſs: it is written on the field you have taken the pains to encloſe, in order to ſecure to yourſelves the enjoyment of it: it is written in your hearts, where the Divinity has impreſſed the love of liberty. Man, whoſe head is raiſed towards heaven, was not made in the image of his Creator to bow before man. No one is greater than another, but by the choice and conſent of all. Ye courtiers, your greatneſs conſiſts in your lands, and is not to be found in your attendance on your maſter. Be leſs ambitious, and ye will be richer. Do juſtice to your vaſſals, and ye will improve your fortunes by increaſing the general happineſs. What advantage can ye propoſe to yourſelves by raiſing the edifice of deſpotiſm upon the

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ruins of every kind of liberty, virtue, ſentiment, and property? Conſider that this power will crush you all. Around this formidable Coloſſus y are no more than figures of bronze, repreſenting the nations chained at the feet of a ſtatue.

If the right of impoſing taxes be in the prince alone, though it may not be for his intereſt to burden and oppreſs his people, yet they will be burdened and oppreſſed. The caprices, profuſions, and encroachments of the ſovereign, will no longer know any bounds when they meet with no obſtacles. A falſe and cruel ſyſtem of politics will ſoon perſuade him, that rich ſubjects will always become inſolent; that they muſt be diſtreſſed, in order to be reduced to ſubjection; and that poverty is the firmeſt rampart of the throne. He will proceed ſo far as to believe that every thing is at his diſpoſal; that nothing belongs to his ſlaves; and that he does them a favour in leaving them any thing.

The government will appropriate to itſelf all the means and reſources of induſtry; and will lay ſuch reſtraints on the exports and imports of every article of trade, as will entirely abſorb the profits ariſing from it. Commerce will only be circulated by the interference and for the benefit of the treaſury. Cultivation will be neglected by mercenaries who can have no hopes of acquiring property. The nobility will ſerve in the army only for pay. The magiſtrate will give judgment only for the ſake of his fees and his ſalary. Merchants will keep their fortunes concealed, in order that they may convey them out of a land where there is no ſpirit of patriotiſm, nor any ſecurity left. The nation, then loſing all its importance, will conceive an indifference for its kings; will ſee its enemies only in thoſe who are its maſters; will be induced to hope that a change of ſlavery will tend to alleviate the yoke of it; will expect its deliverence from a revolution, and the reſtoration of its tranquillity from an entire overthrow of the ſtate.

"This deſcription is dreadful," ſaid a vizier to me, for there are viziers everywhere. "I am concerned

" it. But without contribution, how can I main-
" tain that ſtrength of the ſtate, the neceſſity and ad-
" vantage of which you yourſelf acknowledge? This
" ſtrength ſhould be permanent, and always equal;
" otherwiſe there would be no more ſecurity for your
" perſons, your property, or your induſtry. Happi-
" neſs undefended is no more than a chimera. My
" expences are independent of the variety of ſeaſons,
" of the inclemency of the elements, and of all acci-
" dents. It is therefore neceſſary that they ſhould be
" ſupplied by you, although a peſtilence ſhould have
" deſtroyed your cattle, though inſects ſhould have
" devoured your vines, and though the hail ſhould
" have rooted up your harveſts. You muſt pay, or I
" will turn againſt you that ſtrength of the ſtate, which
" hath been created for your ſafety, and which it is
" your buſineſs to maintain."

This oppreſſive ſyſtem concerned only the propietors of lands. The vizier ſoon informed me of the means which he employed to render the other members of the confederacy ſubſervient to the treaſury.

" It is chiefly in the cities that the mechanical and
" liberal arts, of utility or ornament, of neceſſity or
" fancy, are concentrated, or at leaſt their activity,
" their diſplay, or their improvement. There it is
" that the rich, and conſequently indolent citizens,
" attracted or fixed by the charms of ſociety, endea-
" vour to delude the weariſomeneſs of life by facti-
" tious wants. There it is, that, in order to gratify
" them, they employ the poor, or, which is the ſame
" thing, the induſtrious man; who, in his turn, in order
" to ſatisfy the wants of primary neceſſity, which are for
" a long time the only wants with which he is torment-
" ed, endeavours to multiply the factitious wants of the
" rich man; from whence ariſes between the one and the
" other a mutual dependence, founded upon their re-
" ſpective intereſts; for the induſtrious man wiſhes to la-
" bour, while the rich man wiſhes to enjoy. If, there-
" fore, I can tax the neceſſary articles of all the inhabi-
" tants of cities, whether induſtrious or idle, that is to

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" ſay, if I can raiſe the price, for the ſtate, of all the
" commodities and merchandiſe which are conſumed
" there, by the wants of all the individuals; I ſhall
" then have taxed all the ſpecies of induſtry, and I
" ſhall have brought them to the condition of the in-
" duſtrious huſbandman. I ſhall have done ſtill more;
" and eſpecially, let not this circumſtance eſcape your
" notice, I ſhall have made the rich pay for the poor,
" becauſe the latter will not fail to raiſe the price of
" his productions, in proportion to the multiplication
" of his wants."

I conjure thee, vizier, to ſpare, at leaſt, the air, the water, the fire, and even the corn, which is not leſs than thoſe three elements, the ſacred right of every man, without exception. Deprived of light, no one can either live or act, and without life or action there can be no induſtry.

" I will think of it. But, attend to me in all the
" different plans, by which I have comprehended all
" the other objects of neceſſity, eſpecially in the cities.
" In the firſt place, being maſter of the frontiers of
" the empire, I ſuffer nothing to come from foreigners,
" nor any thing to be conveyed to them, unleſs they
" pay in proportion to the number, weight, and value
" of the thing ſent. By this mode, he who hath ma-
" nufactured, or who exports, yields to me a part of
" his profits; and he who receives or conſumes, gives
" me ſomething above what belongs to the merchant
" or to the manufacturer."

I underſtand, vizier; but by interfering thus between the ſeller and the purchaſer, between the manufacturer, or the merchant, and the conſumer, without being called upon, and without your interference being profitable to them; ſince, on the contrary, you keep it up to their detriment, doth it not happen, that on their parts they endeavour, by deceiving thee ſome how or other, to diminiſh thy ſhare, or even to fruſtrate thee of it?

" Undoubtedly: but of what uſe would the ſtrength
" of the ſtate be to me then, if I did not employ it in

" finding out the fraud, in guarding againſt it, or in
" puniſhing it? If they endeavour to withhold or to
" diminiſh my ſhare, I take the whole; and even ſome-
" times proceed a little further."

I comprehend you: thus it is that wars and exactions are ſtill maintained on the frontiers, and on the borders of the provinces; and that, in order to preſs upon that fortunate induſtry, which is the tie of the moſt diſtant nations, and of the people the moſt ſeparated by their manners and by their religion.

" I am ſorry for it. But every thing muſt be ſacri-
" ficed to the ſtrength of the ſtate, to that bulwark
" which is raiſed againſt the jealouſy and rapaciouſ-
" neſs of neighbouring powers. The intereſt of par-
" ticular individuals doth not always agree with that
" of the greater number. One effect of the proceed-
" ing you complain of is, to preſerve to you commo-
" dities and productions, which perſonal advantage
" would deprive you of by exporting them to foreign
" countries; and I prohibit the importation of foreign
" merchandiſe, which, by the ſuperabundance they
" would occaſion, when united to yours, would lower
" the price of the latter."

I thank thee, vizier: but is it neceſſary that thou ſhouldſt have troops? Thoſe troops are very inconvenient. And couldſt thou not ſerve me without a military parade?

" If you perpetually interrupt me, you will loſe the
" thread of my ſubtile and marvellous operations.
" After having laid a tax on merchandiſe, on its en-
" trance, and on its going out of the empire, on its
" paſſage from one province to the other, I follow the
" track of the traveller, who goes through my diſtrict
" on account of his affairs, or through motives of cu-
" riofity. I follow the peaſant who carries to town
" the produce of the fields, or of his farmyard; and
" when thirſt drives him into a public houſe, by means
" of an aſſociation with the maſter. . . . ."

What, vizier! an inn-keeper is your aſſociate?

" Certainly. Is there any thing deſpicable, when

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"the maintenance of the ſtrength of the ſtate, and "conſequently the wealth of the treaſury, is concern-"ed? by means of this aſſociation, I receive part of "the price of the liquor conſumed there."

But, vizier, how does it happen that you come to be the partner of the keeper of an inn or tavern, in the ſale of his liquors? Is it poſſible that you ſhould be his purveyor?

"I his purveyor! this is what I would carefully a-"void. Where would be the advantage of ſelling the "wine, which the vine-dreſſer might have given me "as the tribute of his induſtry? I am better acquaint-"ed with the management of my affairs. In the firſt "place, I am in partnerſhip with the vine-keeper or "proprietor, with the brewer and the diſtiller of bran-"dy, by which I obtain part of the price for which "they ſell them to the inn-holders, or keepers of "public houſes; and I have afterwards another with "the latter, by which they are accountable to me in "their turn, for a portion of the price which they "receive from the conſumer, leaving the ſeller at "liberty to recover from the conſumer that ſhare of "the price which belongs to me from the conſump-"tion."

It muſt be acknowledged that this is very fine. But, vizier, how do you manage to be preſent at all the ſales of liquors which are made in your empire? How doth it happen that you are not pilfered by theſe inn-keep-ers, who have been notoriouſly diſhoneſt, ever ſince the times of the Romans, though the queſtors were not in partnerſhip with them? After what you have intruſted to me I do not doubt of any thing, but I am curious.

"It is in this inſtance that I ſhall appear bold "to you, and that you will admire my ſagacity. It "is impoſſible to aſpire to every kind of merit and "of glory. Firſt, no man is allowed to move a "hogſhead of wine, of cyder, bear, or of brandy, "either from the place where it is produced or pre-"pared, or from the warehouſe or from the cellar, "either to ſell or to tranſport, no matter for what

" purpoſe, without my permiſſion in writing. By this I know what becomes of them. If any liquor " be met without this paſſport I ſeize upon it; and " the proprietor pays me immediately a third or a " fourth more than the value. Afterwards the ſame " agents, who are employed night and day, in all " parts, to aſcertain to me the honeſty of the proprie- " tors, or wholeſale merchants, in keeping their com- " pact of aſſociation, enter every day twice rather " than once, into the houſe of each inn or tavern- " keeper, where they ſound the veſſels, reckon the " bottles; and if there be the leaſt ſuſpicion of pil- " fering upon my ſhare, the puniſhment is ſo ſevere " as to prevent their being tempted a ſecond time."

But, vizier, in order to pleaſe you, are not your agents ſo many petty ſubaltern tyrants?

" I make no doubt of it; and I reward them well " for it."

Very well; but, vizier, I have one ſcruple. Theſe aſſociations with the proprietor and with the merchants, in wholeſale and in retail, have a little the appearance of thoſe which the highwayman contracts with the paſſenger whom he robs.

" You do not conſider what you ſay. My aſſocia- " tions are authoriſed by law, and by the ſacred inſti- " tution of the ſtrength of the ſtate. Can no circum- " ſtance then have an influence upon your mind? But " let me now perſuade you to come with me to the " gates of the city, where you will not find me leſs " admirable. Nothing enters there without bringing " ſome profit to me. Should they be liquors, they " contribute, not in proportion to their value, as in " my other arrangements, but according to their " quantity; and you may be aſſured that I am not " the dupe. The inn-keeper, or the citizen, have no- " thing to ſay, although I have beſides ſome concern " with them at the time of the purchaſe and of the " ſale, for it is in a different manner. If they be pro- " viſions, I have my agents, not only at the gates, but " at the ſlaughter-houſes and in the fiſh-markets; and

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" no one would attempt to plunder me, without risk-
" ing more than he could get by the fraud. Less pre-
" cautions are necessary in respect to wood, forage, or
" paper. These mercantile articles cannot be pilfered
" as a flask of wine is. I have, however, my emissa-
" ries on the roads, and in the bye-places; and woe
" be to those who should be found endeavouring to
" elude my vigilance. You see, therefore, that who-
" ever dwells in cities, whether he may live by his in-
" dustry, or whether he may employ his income, or a
" part of his profits, in a salary for the industrious man,
" still no one can consume without paying; and that
" all men pay more for the usual and indispensable
" consumptions than for the rest. I have laid every
" kind of industry under contribution, without its per-
" ceiving it. There are, however, some branches of it
" with which I have endeavoured to treat more direct-
" ly, because their common residence is not in towns,
" and that I have imagined they would be more pro-
" fitable to me from a special contribution. For in-
" stance, I have agents in the forges and furnaces,
" where iron, which is put to so many different uses,
" is manufactured and weighed; I have some in the
" workshops of the tanners, where the hides, which
" are of such general utility, are manufactured; I
" have some among all those persons who work in
" gold, silver, plate, and jewels; and you will not ac-
" cuse me, in this instance, of attacking objects of pri-
" mary necessity. In proportion as my experiments
" succeed, I extend them. I flatter myself that I shall
" one day be able to fix my satellites by the side of
" the linen looms, because they are so universally use-
" ful. But do not impart my secret to any one.
" Whenever my speculations get wind, it is always to
" my detriment."

I am truly stricken, vizier, with your sagacity, or with that of your sublime predecessors. They have digged mines of gold everywhere. They have made of your country a Peru, the inhabitants of which have, perhaps, had the same destiny as those of the other

continent; but of what concern is it to you? But you ſay nothing to me of the ſalt and the tobacco, which you ſell ten times above their intrinſic value, though ſalt be the moſt neceſſary article in life, after bread and water. What is the meaning of your ſilence? Are you ſenſible of the contradiction in your conduct in ſelling this article, and refuſing to collect the other contributions in kind, under pretence of the trouble of ſelling again?

"Not in the leaſt. The difference is eaſily perceived. If I received from the proprietor or cultivator his ſhare of contribution in kind, in order to ſell it again afterwards, I become his competitor in the markets. My predeceſſors have been prudent, in reſerving to themſelves the excluſive diſtribution of them. This hath been attended with ſome difficulty. In order to bring thoſe two ſtreams of gold into the reſervoir of the treaſury, it was neceſſary to forbid the culture and the manufacture of tobacco in the nation; which doth not diſpenſe me from keeping upon the frontiers, and even in the interior parts of the empire, an army, to prevent the introduction and the competition of any other tobacco with mine."

Have you found theſe expedients ſucceſsful, vizier?

"Not ſo fully as I could have wiſhed, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the penal laws. As for the ſalt, the difficulty was much greater; I cannot but acknowledge my concern at it. My predeceſſors committed an irreparable blunder. Under pretence of diſpenſing a uſeful favour, neceſſary to ſome of the maritime provinces, or, perhaps, induced by the allurement of a conſiderable ſum, though a temporary one, which other provinces paid, to be allowed to furniſh themſelves with ſalt as they choſe; they gave way to exceptions, the conſequences of which are, that it is not I who ſell it, in one third of the extent of the empire, or thereabouts. I am indeed in great hopes of altering this; but I muſt wait for the moment of diſtreſs."

BOOK XIX. Independent, therefore, of the armies which you maintain upon the frontiers, to prevent the importation of tobacco and foreign merchandiſe, you have ſtill others in the inland parts of the country, to prevent the ſale of the ſalt belonging to the free provinces from coming into competition with the ſale of yours.

"It is true. However, I muſt do juſtice to our ancient viziers. They have left me a very well contrived ſyſtem of legiſlation. For inſtance, thoſe perſons of the free countries bordering upon thoſe provinces where I ſell, are allowed to ſell as little ſalt as poſſible, to prevent them from ſelling it to my prejudice: and by a conſequence of the ſame wiſe meaſures, thoſe who are to purchaſe of me, and who, being near the free countries, might be tempted to provide themſelves at a cheaper rate, are compelled to take more than they can conſume."

And is this cuſtom conſecrated by law?

"Yes, and ſupported by the auguſt ſtrength of the ſtate. I am authoriſed to number the families; and if any one of them ſhould not purchaſe the quantity of ſalt that I think neceſſary for their conſumption, they are obliged to pay for it, all the ſame as if they had."

And every perſon who ſhall ſalt their meat with any other ſalt than yours will certainly ſuffer for it.

"Exceedingly. Beſide the ſeizure of this iniquitous ſalt, it coſts him more than he would expend for ſupplying his family for ſeveral years."

And what becomes of the ſeller?

"The ſeller! He is of courſe a robber, a plunderer, a malefactor, whom I reduce to beggary if he has any thing, and whom I ſend to the galleys if he has nothing."

But are you not, vizier, expoſed to inceſſant lawſuits?

"I have many upon my hands; but there is a particular court of juſtice, to which the excluſive determination of them is committed."

And how doſt thou extricate thyſelf from them?

Is it by the interference of thy favourite principle, BOOK XIX. ſtrength of the ſtate?

"With that and with money."

I can but admire, vizier, thy head and thy courage: thy head, which attends to ſo many objects, and thy courage, which faces ſo many enemies. You have been typified in the holy ſcriptures by Iſhmael, whoſe hands were uplifted againſt all, and thoſe of all raiſed againſt him.

"Alas, I own it! But the importance of the ſtrength "of the ſtate, and the extent of its wants, are ſuch, "that it hath been neceſſary to have recourſe to other "expedients. Beſides what the proprietor is annually "indebted to me for the produce of his eſtate, if he "ſhould reſolve to ſell it, the purchaſer muſt pay me "a ſum above the price agreed on with the ſeller. I "have rated all human compacts; and no man enters "into any kind of contract without furniſhing me a "contribution proportioned either to the object or "the nature of the convention. This examination "implies a ſet of profound agents. And indeed I am "often in want of them. The pleader cannot take "one ſingle ſtep, either as plaintiff or defendant, with-"out ſome benefit ariſing to me from it: and you will "allow that this tribute is very innocent; for no one "is yet diſguſted of law-ſuits."

Suffer me to take breath, vizier, although thy calculation ſhould not be at an end. Thou haſt wearied out my admiration; and I know not which circumſtance ſhould moſt excite my aſtoniſhment, either that perfidious and barbarous ſcience which extends its influence over every thing, and preſſes upon every thing, or that patience with which ſo many repeated acts of ſubtle tyranny, which ſpares nothing, are ſupported. The ſlave receives his ſubſiſtence in exchange for his liberty, while thy wretched contributor is deprived of his liberty by furniſhing thee with his ſubſiſtence.

Hitherto I have ſo frequently given way to emotions even of indignation, that I have ventured to think I ſhould be excuſed for indulging myſelf for

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once in ridicule and irony, which have ſo often decided the moſt important queſtions. I reſume the character that ſuits me, and I ſay,

There undoubtedly muſt be a degree of public ſtrength in every government, which ſhall act both within and without: without, to defend the body of the nation againſt the jealouſy, the cupidity, the ambition, the contempt, and violence of other nations; and this protection, or the ſecurity which ſhould be the effect of it, requires armies, fleets, fortreſſes, arſenals, feeble allies to be kept in pay, and powerful allies to be ſeconded: within, to preſerve the citizen, attached to the order of ſociety, from the troubles, oppreſſions, and injuries he may be expoſed to from the wicked man, who ſuffers himſelf to be led aſtray by paſſions, by perſonal intereſt, or by his vices, and who is reſtrained only by the threats of juſtice, and by the vigilance of the police.

We ſhall, moreover, venture to advance, that it is advantageous to the greater number of citizens, that the ſtrength of the ſtate ſhould encourage induſtry, ſtimulate talents, and aſſiſt thoſe who, from an inconſiderate zeal, unforeſeen misfortunes, or falſe ſpeculations, have loſt their own ability. It is from this principle that we trace the neceſſity of charity-ſchools and hoſpitals.

In order to increaſe the energy of this ſtrength of the ſtate, which, eſpecially in monarchial ſtates, ſeems to be diſtinct and ſeparate from the nation, I would even conſent that the depoſitary and director of this public ſtrength ſhould impreſs awe by a parade of dignity, ſhould attract by mildneſs, and encourage by rewards, ſince it is his duty to make it be feared, reſpected, and cheriſhed.

All theſe means are expenſive. Expences ſuppoſe revenue, and a revenue implies contributions. It is juſt that thoſe who partake of the advantages of the ſtrength of the ſtate ſhould furniſh towards its maintenance. There is a tacit but ſacred agreement between the ſovereign and his ſubjects, by which the

former engages to aſſiſt, with a degree of that force proportioned to the portion that has been furniſhed of it, towards the general maſs of contributions; and this diſtributive juſtice would be executed of itſelf by the nature of things, if it were not inceſſantly diſturbed by corruption and vice.

But in every convention there is a proportion between the price and the value of the thing acquired; and this proportion muſt neceſſarily be in the ratio of *minus* on the ſide of the price, and in that of *plus* on the ſide of the advantages. I am ready to purchaſe a ſword to defend myſelf againſt the thief; but if, in order to acquire this ſword, I am obliged to empty my purſe or to ſell my houſe, I would rather compound with the thief.

Now, where then is this analogy, this proportion of advantages, derived from the ſtrength of the ſtate, *in favour of a proprietor*, when compared with the price which he pays for them, if among the moſt civilized nations of Europe, the leaſt expoſed to excurſions and to foreign attacks, after having ceded a part of his poſſeſſion, he is obliged, when he goes to live in the town, to purchaſe at an advanced price, for the benefit of this ſtrength of the ſtate, not only the productions of other people, but likewiſe his own, when he chooſes to conſume them.

What is this proportion of advantages *for the huſbandman*, if he be compelled, on the one hand, to conſume in kind a portion of his time, and of the means of his induſtry, for the conſtruction and the repairing of the roads; and if he be alſo obliged to return in money a conſiderable portion of the productions he hath acquired from the earth by the ſweat of his brow and by hard labours?

What is this proportion of advantages *for the mechanic*, who cannot work without food, lodging, clothing, light, and firing, and who cannot ſupply himſelf with all theſe articles without contributing, ſince theſe ſeveral means of ſubſiſtence are taxed, if he be ſtill obliged to return part of the price of his time and of

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his talents to the impoſt which falls directly upon the productions of his induſtry?

What is this proportion of advantages *for the merchant*, who hath already contributed in a variety of ways, both by his perſonal conſumption, by the conſumption of his clerks, as well as by the advanced price of the firſt materials, if he be ſtill obliged to cede a portion of the price of the merchandiſe which he ſends out, and from which he may perhaps receive nothing, in caſe of ſome of thoſe numberleſs accidents, from which this public ſtrength doth not engage either to ſcreen or indemnify him?

What is this proportion of advantage *for all individuals*, if, after having contributed in every progreſſion and exertion of our induſtry to the common maſs, on one hand, by an annual and general impoſt, that of the poll-tax, which hath no connection, no affinity, either with property or with induſtry, we ſtill contribute, on the other hand, by the ſalt, a commodity of primary neceſſity, which is carried to ten times its intrinſic and natural value?

Once again, What proportion of theſe advantages belongs *to all individuals*, if we ſee all theſe quotas, exacted for the maintenance of the ſtrength of the ſtate, waſted among the extortioners who collect them, while the remainder, which, after ſeveral expences of circulation, is poured into the king's treaſury, is pillaged in ſeveral different manners, or diſſipated in extravagance?

We ſhall alſo aſk, what analogy is there between that ſtrange and complicated variety of contributions, and the advantages which each of us obtains from the ſtrength of the ſtate, if it be true, as certain political calculators pretend, that the ſums of thoſe who contribute are equal to thoſe of the revenue of the proprietors?

We can only ſeek for an anſwer to this queſtion in the character of the ſovereign. If he be cruel, the problem will not be ſolved; and time, after a long ſeries of oppreſſion, will bring about the ruin of the empire. If the ſovereign ſhould have any ſenſibility,

the problem will be ſolved in a manner beneficial to his ſubjects. BOOK XIX.

The chief of the nation muſt not, however, flatter himſelf with effecting any great or laſting good, if he does not make a judicious choice of the man intruſted with the maintenance of the ſtrength of the ſtate. It belongs to that great agent of government to diſtribute and to render ſupportable to every individual the enormous weight of the tribute by his equity and by his ſkill, and to divide it according to the relative degrees of ability or non-ability in the contributors. Without theſe two circumſtances, the oppreſſed people will fall into a ſtate of deſpair more or leſs diſtant, more or leſs alarming. With theſe two circumſtances, ſupported by the expectation of an immediate or approaching relief, they will ſuffer with patience, and will proceed under their burden with ſome ſhare of courage.

But where is the miniſter who will fulfil ſo difficult a taſk? Will it be the miniſter who, from an odious thirſt of wealth, ſhall have eagerly ſought the management of the public revenues, and who having attained that important poſt by dint of ſervile intrigue, ſhall have abandoned the treaſury a prey to his paſſions, his friends, his flatterers, and his favourites, and to the detriment of the ſtrength of the ſtate? Periſh the memory of ſuch a miniſter!

Will it be he who ſhall view, in the power committed to his hands, nothing more but the inſtrument of his enmity, or of his perſonal averſions; who ſhall conſider nothing but how to realize the illuſion of his ferocious and diſordered imagination; who will treat all meaſures differing from his own as abſurdities; whoſe anger will be excited againſt real or pretended errors, as if they were ſo many crimes; to whom the fable of the ſtomach and the members ſhall be an object of ridicule; who ſhall enervate that part of the body politic that ſhall be diſpleaſing to him, by granting almoſt excluſive favours to that which his fancy, his intereſt, or his prejudices ſhall prefer; to whom every

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thing ſhall bear the ſtamp of confuſion and diſorder which ſhall not be conſonant to his ſingular ideas; who, deſtitute of the wiſdom neceſſary to correct what is defective, ſhall ſubſtitute chimeras to a regular ſyſtem, perhaps imperfect; and who, in order to correct pretended abuſes, blind to the conſequences of an ill-ſuggeſted plan of reformation, will ſubvert every thing with a diſdainful ſmile; an empiric, who is as cruel as ignorant; who, miſtaking poiſon for the remedy, ſhall announce a ſpeedy cure, when repeated convulſions ſhall proclaim the impending diſſolution of the patient? Periſh the memory of ſuch a miniſter!

Sovereigns, you who are neither exempt from falſehood or ſeduction, if you have been unfortunate enough to have been directed by ſuch miniſters, do not ſubſtitute to them a weak and puſillanimous man, who, though well informed, mild, modeſt, and perhaps incapable of committing any great faults while he acts for himſelf, will ſtill ſuffer himſelf to be miſled by others; will fall into the ſnares that ſhall be laid for him; and will want that neceſſary vigour, either to put a ſtop to, or prevent the evil, or to act in oppoſition to yourſelves, when his conſcience and the general intereſt ſhall require it.

Do not ſubſtitute the moroſe, diſdainful, and auſtere man, and much leſs the imperious and harſh miniſter. The impoſt is a heavy burden; how, therefore, ſhall it be ſupported, if the mode of impoſing it be aggravated? It is a bitter cup, which all muſt ſwallow; if it be preſented haſtily or awkwardly, it will certainly be ſpilt.

Do not ſubſtitute the man who is ignorant of the law, or who deſpiſes it, to attend to nothing but finance. It is the intereſt of a ſovereign, that property and induſtry ſhould be protected, againſt his own authority, againſt the enterpriſes of his miniſters, often inconſiderate, and ſometimes dangerous. A miniſter who ſacrifices every thing to finance will often fill the coffers of his maſter; he will give to the nation, and to the throne, the ſplendour of a formidable power;

but this ſplendour will be momentary as lightning. Deſpair will ſeize upon the minds of the ſubjects. By reducing induſtry to the moſt extreme diſtreſs, the miniſter will have acted the part of the man in the fable, who killed the hen which brought forth golden eggs.

Do not ſubſtitute a villain, armed at all points with the formalities and ſubtleties of law, who will keep up a perpetual quarrel between the treaſury and the law, who will render the former odious, and will relax the bands of a hard but neceſſary obedience.

Do not ſubſtitute that outrageous philanthropiſt, who, giving himſelf up to an ill-judged ſpirit of patriotiſm, ſhall forget the treaſury, while he indiſcreetly gives way to the ſeducing impulſe of benevolence and popularity; an impulſe ever laudable in a philoſopher, but to which a miniſter ought not to yield without great circumſpection. For it muſt ſtill be acknowledged, that the ſtrength of the ſtate muſt be eſtabliſhed, and that there muſt be a treaſury to maintain it.

But above all things, reject the prodigal miniſter. How is it poſſible that a man who hath failed in the management of his own affairs can adminiſter thoſe of a great ſtate? When he hath diſſipated his own eſtates, will he be economical of the public revenue? Let us ſuppoſe him to have probity, delicacy, knowledge, and a ſincere deſire of being uſeful to the ſtate; yet in a circumſtance, and upon an object ſo important as that in queſtion, conſtitutional virtues are only to be truſted to. How many men are there, who have entered virtuous into the miniſtry, and who, in ſix months after their promotion, appeared in a very different light to others, and even to themſelves? There is, perhaps, leſs ſeduction at the foot of the throne, than in the antichamber of a miniſter; and ſtill leſs at the foot of the throne, and in the antichambers of other miniſters, than at the entrance of the cloſet of the miniſter of finance. But we have dwelt too long on impoſts: we muſt now ſpeak of what hath been ſuggeſted to ſupply its place, of public credit.

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Public credit.

In general, what is called credit is only a delay granted for payment. This was a cuſtom unknown in the firſt ages. Every family was ſatisfied with what uncultivated nature, and ſome coarſe labours, ſupplied to them. Some exchanges were ſoon begun, but only between relations and neighbours. Theſe connections were extended in all places, where the progreſs of ſociety multiplied the wants or the pleaſures of men. In proceſs of time, it was no longer poſſible to purchaſe proviſions of one kind with thoſe of another; metals were ſubſtituted, and became inſenſibly the common repreſentative of all things. It happened, that the agents of trade, which were becoming every day more conſiderable, wanted the money neceſſary for their ſpeculations. The merchandiſe was then delivered, to be paid for at periods more or leſs diſtant; and this fortunate cuſtom ſtill obtains, and will laſt for ever.

Credit ſuppoſes double confidence; confidence in the perſon who is in want of it, and confidence in his abilities to pay. The firſt is the moſt neceſſary. It is too common for a man in debt, who is deſtitute of honeſty, to break his engagements, though he be able to fulfil them; and to diſſipate his fortune by irregularity and extravagance. But the ſenſible and honeſt man may, by a variety of ſchemes well conducted, acquire, or replace the means that have failed him for a time.

The mutual advantage of the purchaſer and the ſeller has given riſe to the credit which exiſts among the individuals of one ſociety, or even of ſeveral ſocieties. It differs from public credit in this particular, that the latter is the credit of a whole nation, conſidered as forming one ſingle body.

Between public and private credit there is alſo this difference, that profit is the end of the one, and expence of the other. From hence it follows, that credit is gain with reſpect to the merchant, becauſe it furniſhes him with the means of acquiring riches; but with reſpect to governments, it is one cauſe of impo-

periſhing them, ſince it only ſupplies them with the means of ruining themſelves. A ſtate that borrows alienates a portion of its revenue for a capital, which it ſpends. It is therefore poorer after theſe loans, than it was before it had recourſe to this deſtructive expedient.

Notwithſtanding the ſcarcity of gold and ſilver, the ancient governments were unacquainted with public credit, even at the times of the moſt fatal and critical events. They formed, during peace, a ſtock that was reſerved for times of diſtreſs. The ſpecie being by this method circulated afreſh, excited induſtry, and alleviated, in ſome meaſure, the inevitable calamities of war. Since the diſcovery of the New World has made gold and ſilver more common, thoſe who have had the adminiſtration of public affairs have generally engaged in enterpriſes above the abilities of the people they governed, and have not ſcrupled to burden poſterity with debts they had ventured to contract. This ſyſtem of oppreſſion has been continued: it will affect the lateſt generations, and oppreſs all nations and all ages.

It is England, Holland, and France, that is to ſay, the moſt opulent nations of Europe, who have given ſo bad an example. Theſe powers have found credit, for the ſame reaſon that we do not lend our money to a man who aſks charity, but to him who dazzles us with his brilliant equipage. Confidence hath given birth to loans; and confidence ariſes of itſelf at the ſight of a country where the richneſs of the ſoil is increaſed by the activity of an induſtrious people, and at the view of thoſe celebrated ports which receive all the productions of the univerſe.

The ſituation of theſe three ſtates hath alſo encouraged the lender. They are not only the public revenues that are his guarantee, but alſo the incomes of individuals, in which the treaſury finds, in times of neceſſity, its ſupport and its reſources. In countries which, like Germany, are open on all ſides, and which have neither barriers, nor natural means of defence, if

BOOK XIX. the enemy, who can enter into them freely, ſhould either fix, or only ſojourn there for a time, they immediately levy the public revenues for their own benefit, and they even appropriate to themſelves, by contributions, a portion of the incomes of individuals. The creditors of the government then experience the ſame thing as happened to thoſe who had annuities in the Auſtrian Netherlands, and to whom more than thirty years arrears were due. With England, France, and Holland, which are all three ſomewhat more or leſs ſecured from invaſion, there is nothing to fear, except the cauſes which exhauſt them, the effect of which is ſlower, and conſequently more diſtant.

But ſhould it not be the province of the indigent man to borrow, and of the rich to lend? Wherefore, then, are thoſe ſtates which have the moſt reſources the moſt in debt? It is becauſe the folly of nations is the ſame as that of individuals: it is becauſe, being more ambitious, they create to themſelves more wants: it is becauſe the confidence they have in their means renders them inattentive to the expences they make: it is becauſe no action at law can be maintained againſt them; and that their debts are themſelves liquidated, whenever they have the effrontery to ſay, we owe nothing: it is becauſe ſubjects cannot bring their ſovereign to juſtice: it is becauſe a power hath never been, nor perhaps never will be ſeen, to take up arms in favour of their citizens, robbed and plundered by a foreign power: it is becauſe a ſtate renders its neighbours in a manner ſubject to it by loans: it is becauſe Holland is in conſtant apprehenſion, leſt the firſt cannon-ſhot which ſhould pierce the ſide of one of her ſhips ſhould acquit England towards her: it is becauſe an edict dated from Verſailles may, without conſequences, acquit France to Geneva: it is becauſe theſe motives, which it would be ſhameful to acknowledge, act ſecretly in the breaſts and in the councils of powerful kings.

The cuſtom of public credit, though ruinous to every ſtate, is not equally ſo to all. A nation that has

ſeveral valuable productions of its own; whoſe revenue is entirely free; which hath always fulfilled its engagements, which hath not been ſwayed by the ambition of conqueſts, and which governs itſelf; ſuch a nation will raiſe money at an eaſier rate, than an empire, the ſoil of which is not fertile; which is overloaded with debts; which engages in undertakings beyond its ſtrength; which has deceived its creditors, and groans beneath an arbitrary power. The lender, who of courſe impoſes the law, will always proportion the terms to the riſks he muſt run. Thus, a people whoſe finances are in a ſtate of confuſion, will ſoon fall into the utmoſt diſtreſs by public credit: but even the beſt-regulated government will alſo experience the decline of its proſperity from it.

But ſome political arithmeticians have aſſerted, that it is advantageous to invite the ſpecie of other nations into that of our own country, and that public loans produce that important effect. It is certain, that it is a method of attracting the ſpecie of other nations; but merely, as if it were obtained by the ſale of one or more provinces of the empire. Perhaps it would be a more rational practice to deliver up the ſoil to them, than to cultivate it ſolely for their uſe.

But if the ſtate borrowed only of its own ſubjects, the national revenue would not be given up to foreigners. It certainly would not: but the ſtate would impoveriſh ſome of its members, in order to enrich one individual. Muſt not taxes be increaſed in proportion to the intereſt that is to be paid, and the capital that is to be replaced? Will not the proprietors of lands, the huſbandmen, and every citizen, find the burden greater, than if all the money borrowed by the ſtate had been demanded from them at once? Their ſituation is the ſame, as if they themſelves had borrowed it, inſtead of retrenching from their ordinary expences as much as might enable them to ſupply an accidental charge.

But the paper-currency which is introduced by the

BOOK XIX. loans made to government increaſes the quantity of wealth in circulation, gives a great extenſion to trade, and facilitates every commercial tranſaction. Infatuated men! reflect on the dangerous conſequences of your political ſyſtem. Extend it only as far as poſſible; let the ſtate borrow all it can; load it with intereſt to be paid; and by theſe means reduce it to the neceſſity of ſtraining every tax to the utmoſt; ye will ſoon find, that, with all the wealth you may have in circulation, ye will have no freſh ſupply for the purpoſes of conſumption and trade. Money, and the paper which repreſents it, do not circulate of themſelves, nor without the aſſiſtance of thoſe powers which ſet them in motion. All the different ſigns introduced in lieu of coin acquire a value only proportionate to the number of ſales and purchaſes that are made. Let us agree with you, in ſuppoſing all Europe filled with gold. If it ſhould have no merchandiſe to trade with, that gold will have no circulation. Let us only increaſe commercial effects, and take no concern about theſe repreſentations of wealth; mutual confidence and neceſſity will ſoon occaſion them to be eſtabliſhed without your aſſiſtance. But let your care be principally directed in preventing their increaſe, by ſuch means as muſt neceſſarily diminiſh the maſs of your growing produce.

But the cuſtom of public credit enables one power to give the law to others. Will it never be perceived that this reſource is common to all nations? If it be a general mode by which a ſtate may obtain a ſuperiority over its enemies, may it not be ſerviceable to them for the ſame purpoſes? Will not the credit of the two nations be in proportion to their reſpective wealth? and will they not be ruined without having any other advantages over one another, than thoſe they were in poſſeſſion of, independent of every loan? When I ſee monarchs and empires furiouſly attacking and waging war againſt each other, with all their debts, with their public funds, and their revenue al-

ready deeply mortgaged, it ſeems to me, ſays a philoſophical writer, as if I ſaw men fighting with clubs in a potter's ſhop ſurrounded with porcelain.

It would, perhaps, be preſumptuous to affirm, that in no circumſtance whatſoever the public ſervice can ever require an alienation of part of the public revenues. The ſcenes that diſturb the world are ſo various; empires are expoſed to ſuch extraordinary revolutions; the field of events is ſo extenſive; political intereſts occaſion ſuch amazing changes in public affairs, that it is not within the reach of human wiſdom to foreſee and calculate every circumſtance. But in this inſtance, it is the ordinary conduct of governments that we are attending to, and not an extraordinary ſituation, which, in all probability, may never preſent itſelf.

Every ſtate which will not be diverted from the ruinous courſe of loans, by ſuch conſiderations as we have juſt been offering, will be the cauſe of its own deſtruction. The facility of acquiring large ſums of money at once, will engage a government in every kind of unreaſonable, raſh, and expenſive undertaking; will make it mortgage its future expectations for preſent exigencies, and game with the preſent ſtock to acquire future ſupplies. One loan will bring on another; and to accelerate the laſt, the intereſt will be more and more raiſed.

This irregularity will cauſe the fruits of induſtry to paſs into ſome idle hands. The facility of obtaining every enjoyment without labour will induce every perſon of fortune, as well as all vicious and intriguing men, to reſort to the capital; who will bring with them a train of ſervants, borrowed from the plough; of young girls, deprived of their innocence, and prevented from marrying; of perſons of both ſexes, devoted to luxury: all of them the inſtruments, the victims, the objects, or the ſport, of indolence and voluptuouſneſs.

The ſeducing attraction of public debts will ſpread more and more. When men can reap the fruits of the

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earth without labour, every individual will engage in that ſpecies of employment which is at once lucrative and eaſy. Proprietors of land, and merchants, will all become annuitants. Money is converted into paper-currency, eſtabliſhed by the ſtate, becauſe it is more portable than ſpecie, leſs ſubject to alteration from time, and leſs liable to the injury of ſeaſons and the rapacity of the farmers of the revenue. The preference given to the repreſentative paper, above the real ſpecie or commodity, will be injurious to agriculture, trade, and induſtry. As the ſtate always expends what has been wrongfully acquired in an improper manner, in proportion as its debts increaſe, the taxes muſt be augmented, in order to pay the intereſt. Thus all the active and uſeful claſſes of ſociety are plundered and exhauſted by the idle, uſeleſs claſs of annuitants. The increaſe of taxes raiſes the price of commodities, and conſequently that of induſtry. By theſe means, conſumption is leſſened; becauſe exportation ceaſes, as ſoon as merchandiſe is too dear to ſtand the competition of other nations. The lands and manufactures are equally affected.

The inability the ſtate then finds itſelf in to anſwer its engagements forces it to extricate itſelf by bankruptcy; a method the moſt deſtructive of the freedom of the people, and of the power of the ſovereign. Then the decrees for loans are paid by edicts of reduction. Then the oaths of the monarch, and the rights of the ſubjects, will be betrayed. Then the ſureſt baſis of all governments, public confidence, will be irrecoverably loſt. Then the fortune of the rich man is overthrown, and the poor man is deprived of the fruits of his long-continued labours, which he had intruſted to the treaſury, in order to ſecure a ſubſiſtence in his old age. Then the labour and the ſalaries are ſuſpended, and the multitude of laborious perſons fall into a kind of palſy, and are reduced to beggary. Then the manufactures are empty, and the hoſpitals are filled, as they are in times of a peſtilence. Then the minds of all men are exaſperated againſt the prince,

while his agents are everywhere loaded with imprecations. Then the feeble man, who can ſubmit to lead a life of miſery, is condemned to tears; while he to whom nature has given an impatient and ſtronger mind, arms himſelf with a dagger, which he turns either againſt himſelf or againſt his fellow-citizen. Then the ſpirit, the manners, and the health of the inhabitants of the nation are deſtroyed; the ſpirit, by depreſſion and affliction; the manners, by the neceſſity of having recourſe to reſources which are always criminal or diſhoneſt; health, by the ſame conſequences which would follow a ſudden famine. Sovereign miniſters, is it poſſible that the image of ſuch calamity ſhould be preſented to you, without diſturbing your tranquillity, or exciting your remorſe? If there be a great Judge who waits for you, how will you dare to appear before him, and what ſentence can you poſſibly expect from him? Doubt not but that it will be the ſame as that which thoſe wretches whom you have made, and whoſe ſole avenger he was, ſhall have called down upon you. Accurſed in this world, you will ſtill be ſo in the next.

Such is the end of loans; from whence we may judge of the principles upon which they are founded.

Fine arts. and belles lettres.

After having examined the ſprings and ſupport of every civilized ſociety, let us take a view of the ornaments and decorations of the edifice. Theſe are the fine arts, and polite literature.

Nature is the model of both the one and the other. To ſtudy nature, and to ſtudy her with propriety, to ſelect her beſt appearances, to copy her faithfully, to correct her defects, and to embelliſh or collect her ſcattered beauties, in order to compoſe of them one marvellous object: theſe are ſo many talents infinitely rare. Some of them may accompany the man of genius; others may be the reſult of ſtudy, and of the labours of ſeveral great men. Sublimity of thought and expreſſion may prevail, where there is a want of taſte. Imagination and invention may diſplay its powers in a man who is impetuous and incorrect. Ages paſs away,

BOOK XIX. before there appears an orator, a poet, a painter, or a ſtatuary, in whom judgment, which reflects upon its operations, moderates that ardour which is impatient of advancing in its career.

It is chiefly utility which hath given birth to literature, while the fine arts have owed their origin to the allurements of pleaſure.

In Greece they were the offſpring of the ſoil itſelf. The Greeks, favoured with the moſt fortunate climate, had a ſcene of nature inceſſantly before them, replete with wonderful objects of delight or of horror, rapid ſtreams, craggy mountains, ancient foreſts, fertile plains, agreeable valleys, and delightful ſlopes; the ſea ſometimes calm and ſometimes agitated; every thing, in a word, which infuſes ardour into the ſoul, every thing which awakens ſenſibility, and extends the imagination. Theſe people, being ſcrupulous imitators, copied nature at firſt, ſuch as they ſaw her. They ſoon adapted a ſpirit of diſcrimination to their models. Attention to the principal functions of the limbs pointed out to them their groſſeſt defects, which they corrected. They afterwards diſcovered the more trifling imperfections of a figure, which they likewiſe altered: and thus they raiſed themſelves gradually to the conception of ideal beauty, that is, to the conception of a being, the exiſtence of which is perhaps poſſible, though not real, for nature makes nothing perfect. Nothing is regular in it, and yet nothing is out of its place. There are too many cauſes combined at once in the creation, not merely of an entire animal, but even of the ſmalleſt ſimilar parts of an animal, that we ſhould expect to find exact ſymmetry in them. The beautiful of nature conſiſts in a preciſe ſeries of imperfections. The whole may be cenſured, but in that whole every part is preciſely what it ſhould be. The attentive conſideration of a flower, of the branch of a tree, or of a leaf, are ſufficient to confirm this opinion.

It was by this ſlow and laborious mode that painting and ſculpture acquired that degree of perfection which aſtoniſhes us, in the Gladiator, the Antinous,

and Venus of Medicis. To theſe fortunate cauſes may be added a language harmonious from its origin, a poetry ſublime and full of agreeable as well as terrible images, previous to the birth of the arts; the ſpirit of liberty; the exerciſe of the fine arts forbidden to ſlaves; the intercourſe of artiſts with philoſophers; their emulation kept up by labours, rewards, and encomiums; the continual view of the human frame in baths and in the Gymnaſia, which is a continual leſſon for the artiſt, and the principle of refined taſte in the nation; the large and flowing garments which did not deform any part of the body, by preſſing and confining it; numberleſs temples to decorate the ſtatues of the gods and goddeſſes, and conſequently the ineſtimable value ſet on beauty, which was to ſerve as the model; and the cuſtom of conſecrating, by monuments, the memorable actions of great men. BOOK XIX.

Homer had ſet the example of epic poetry. The Olympic games haſtened the progreſs of lyric poetry, of muſic, and of tragedy. The concatenation of the arts, one with the other, exerted its influence on architecture. Eloquence aſſumed dignity and vigour, while it was diſcuſſing the public intereſts.

The Romans, who copied the Greeks in every thing, were inferior to their models, having neither the ſame gracefulneſs nor the ſame originality. In ſuch of their works as were really beautiful, the efforts of an able copyiſt were frequently obſerved, a circumſtance which was almoſt unavoidable. If the maſterpieces which they had perpetually before them had been deſtroyed, their genius, left to its own powers and its natural energy, after ſome trials and after ſome deviations, would have ſoared to a very high degree of perfection, and their works would have had that character of truth which they could not poſſeſs, when executed partly from nature and partly from the productions of a ſchool, the ſpirit of which was unknown to them. Theſe originals were to them as were the works of the Creator; they were ignorant of the manner in which they were produced.

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A rigid taſte, however, preſided over all the performances of the Romans. It guided equally their artiſts and their writers. Their works were either the image or the copy of truth. The genius of invention, and that of execution, never infringed the proper limits. In the midſt of profuſion and magnificence the graces were diſtributed with a prudent hand. Every thing that went beyond the beautiful was ſkilfully retrenched.

The experience of all nations and of all ages demonſtrates, that whatever hath attained to perfection is not long before it degenerates. The revolution is more or leſs rapid, but always infallible. Among the Romans it was the work of a few ambitious writers, who, deſpairing to excel, or even equal their predeceſſors, contrived to open to themſelves a new career. To plans cloſely arranged, to ideas luminous and profound, to images full of dignity, to phraſes of great energy, and to expreſſions ſuited to every ſubject, were ſubſtituted the ſpirit of wit, analogies more ſingular than preciſe, a continual contraſt of words or ideas, a broken and looſe ſtyle, more ſtriking than natural; in a word, all the faults that are produced from an habitual deſire of being brilliant and of pleaſing. The arts were drawn into the ſame vortex; they were carried to exceſs, too much refined and affected, as eloquence and poetry were. All the productions of genius bore the ſame mark of degradation.

They emerged from this, but only to fall into one ſtill more fatal. The firſt men to whom it was given to cultivate the arts, intended to make impreſſions that ſhould be lively and durable. In order to attain their end with greater certainty, they thought it neceſſary to enlarge every object. This miſtake, which was a neceſſary conſequence of their want of experience, led them to exaggeration. What had been done in the firſt inſtance from ignorance, was afterwards revived from flattery. The emperors, who had raiſed an unlimited power upon the ruins of Roman liberty, would no longer be mere mortals. To gratify this extrava-

gant pride, it was neceſſary to beſtow upon them the attributes of the Divinity. Their images, their ſtatues, and their palaces, no longer appeared in their true proportions, but all of them aſſumed a coloſſal magnitude. The nations proſtrated themſelves before theſe idols, and incenſe was burnt upon their altars. The people and the artiſts ſeduced the poets, the orators, and the hiſtorians, whoſe perſons would have been expoſed to inſult, and whoſe writings would have appeared ſatirical, had they confined themſelves within the boundaries of truth, taſte, and decency.

Such was the deplorable ſtate of the arts and of letters in the ſouth of Europe, when ſome barbarous hordes, pouring from the northern regions, annihilated what had been only corrupted. Theſe people, after having covered the country-places with human bones, and after having ſtrewed the provinces with dead bodies, attacked the towns with that fury which was natural to them. They totally demoliſhed ſeveral of thoſe ſuperb cities, in which were collected all the moſt perfect productions of the induſtry and genius of man in books, pictures, and ſtatues. Such of thoſe precious monuments as had neither been deſtroyed nor burnt, were either mutilated or devoted to the meaneſt uſes. The little that had eſcaped the devaſtation was obſcurely buried under heaps of ruins and aſhes. Even Rome herſelf, ſo often pillaged by ferocious robbers, was at length become their reſidence. This miſtreſs of nations, ſo long the terror and the admiration of the univerſe, was no more than an object of contempt and pity. In the midſt of the ruins of the empire, a few unfortunate perſons, who had eſcaped the ravages of the ſword or of famine, dragged on a diſgraceful exiſtence, the ſlaves of thoſe ſavages, to whoſe name even they were ſtrangers, or whom they had enſlaved or trampled under foot.

Hiſtory has preſerved the memory of ſeveral warlike people, who, after having ſubdued enlightened nations, had adopted their cuſtoms, their laws, and

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their knowledge. At the too fatal period which we are now deſcribing, they were the vanquiſhed who baſely aſſimilated themſelves to their barbarous conquerors. The reaſon of this is, that thoſe mean perſons who ſubmitted to the foreign yoke, had loſt a great deal of the knowledge and of the taſte of their anceſtors; and that the ſmall remains of them they had preſerved were not ſufficient to enlighten a conqueror plunged in the groſſeſt ignorance, and who, from the facility of their conqueſts, had accuſtomed themſelves to conſider the arts as a frivolous occupation, and as the inſtrument of ſervitude.

Before this age of darkneſs, Chriſtianity had deſtroyed in Europe the idols of Pagan antiquity, and had only preſerved ſome of the arts to aſſiſt the power of perſuaſion, and to favour the preaching of the goſpel. Inſtead of a religion embelliſhed with the gay divinities of Greece and Rome, it had ſubſtituted monuments of terror and gloomineſs, ſuited to the tragic events which ſignalized its birth and its progreſs. The Gothic ages have left us ſome monuments, the boldneſs and majeſty of which ſtill ſtrike the eye amidſt the ruins of taſte and elegance. All their temples were built in the ſhape of the croſs, which was alſo placed on the top of them; and they were filled with crucifixes, and decorated with horrid and gloomy images, with ſcaffolds, tortures, martyrs, and executioners.

What then became of the arts, condemned as they were to terrify the imagination by continual ſpectacles of blood, death, and future puniſhments? They became as hideous as the models they were formed upon; ferocious as the princes and pontiffs that made uſe of them; mean and baſe as thoſe who worſhipped the productions of them; they frightened children from their very cradles; they aggravated the horrors of the grave by an eternal perſpective of terrible ſhades; they ſpread melancholy over the whole face of the earth.

At length the period arrived for leſſening thoſe ſcaffoldings of religion and ſocial policy; and this was accompliſhed by the inhabitants of Greece.

This country is at preſent barbarous to a great degree. It groans under the yoke of ſlavery and ignorance. Its climate and ſome ruins are all it preſerves. There is no veſtige left of urbanity, emulation, or induſtry. There are no more enterpriſes for the public good, no more objects for the productions of genius, no more enthuſiaſm for the reſtoration of arts, no more zeal for the recovery of liberty. The glory of Themiſtocles and of Alcibiades, the talents of Sophocles and Demoſthenes, the learning of Lycurgus and of Plato, the policy of Piſiſtratus and of Pericles, and the labours of Phidias and of Apelles, are all forgotten; every thing hath been deſtroyed; and a profound darkneſs covers the region, formerly ſo productive of miraculous events.

The ſlaves who walk over the ruins of ſtatues, columns, palaces, temples, and amphitheatres, and who blindly trample ſo many riches under foot, have loſt even the remembrance of the great exploits of which their country was the ſcene. They have even diſfigured the names of the towns and the provinces. They are aſtoniſhed that the deſire of acquiring knowledge ſhould attract into their country learned men and artiſts. Become inſenſible to the invaluable remains of their annihilated ſplendour, they would wiſh that the ſame ſpirit of indifference ſhould be diffuſed over the whole world. To be allowed to viſit this intereſting ſpot, it is neceſſary to be at great expences, to run great riſks, and, beſide this, to obtain the protection of government.

Theſe people, though during ten or twelve centuries the interior part of their empire was the prey of civil, religious, and ſcholaſtic wars, and though expoſed from without to bloody combats, deſtructive invaſions, and continual loſſes, ſtill preſerved ſome taſte and ſome knowledge; when the diſciples of Mahom-

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med, who, armed with the ſword and the coran, had ſubdued with rapidity all the parts of ſo vaſt a dominion, ſeized upon the capital itſelf.

At this period the fine arts returned with literature from Greece into Italy by the Mediterranean, which maintained the commerce between Aſia and Europe. The Hunns, under the name of Goths, had driven them from Rome to Conſtantinople; and the very ſame people, under the name of Turks, expelled them again from Conſtantinople to Rome. That city, deſtined as it was to rule by force or by ſtratagem, cultivated and revived the arts, which had been a long time buried in oblivion.

Walls, columns, ſtatues, and vaſes, were drawn forth from the duſt of ages, and from the ruins of Italy, to ſerve as models of the fine arts at their revival. The genius which preſides over deſign raiſed three of the arts at once; I mean architecture, ſculpture, and painting. Architecture, in which convenience itſelf regulated thoſe proportions of ſymmetry that contribute to give pleaſure to the eye; ſculpture, which flatters princes, and is the reward of great men; and painting, which perpetuates the remembrance of noble actions, and the examples of mutual tenderneſs. Italy alone had more ſuperb cities, more magnificent edifices, than all the reſt of Europe. Rome, Florence, and Venice, gave riſe to three ſchools of original painters: ſo much does genius depend upon the imagination, and imagination upon the climate. Had Italy poſſeſſed the treaſures of Mexico and the productions of Aſia, how much more would the arts have been enriched by the diſcovery of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies?

That country, of old ſo fruitful in heroes, and ſince in artiſts, beheld literature, which is the inſeparable companion of the arts, flouriſh a ſecond time. It had been overwhelmed by the barbariſm of a latinity corrupted and diſfigured by religious enthuſiaſm. A mixture of Egyptian theology, Grecian philoſophy, and

Hebrew poetry; ſuch was the Latin language in the mouths of monks, who chanted all night, and taught by day things and words they did not underſtand.

The mythology of the Romans revived in literature the graces of antiquity. The ſpirit of imitation borrowed them at firſt indiſcriminately. Cuſtom introduced taſte in the choice of thoſe rich treaſures. The Italian genius, too fertile not to invent, blended its enthuſiaſm and caprice with the rules and examples of its old maſters, and joined even the fictions of fairy land with thoſe of fable. The works of imagination partook of the manners of the age and of the national character. Petrarch had drawn that celeſtial virgin, Beauty, which ſerved as a model for the heroines of chivalry. Armida was the emblem of the coquetry which reigned in her time in Italy. Arioſto confounded every ſpecies of poetry, in a work, which may rather be called the labyrinth of poetry, than a regular poem. That author will ſtand alone in the hiſtory of literature, like the enchanted palaces of his own conſtruction in the deſerts.

Letters and arts, after croſſing the ſea, paſſed the Alps. In the ſame manner as the Cruſades had brought the oriental romances into Italy, the wars of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. introduced into France ſome principles of good literature. Francis I. if he had not been into Italy in order to contend for the Milaneſe with Charles V. would never, perhaps, have been ambitious of the title of *the Father of letters:* but theſe ſeeds of knowledge and improvement in the arts were loſt in the religious wars. They were recovered again, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, in ſcenes of war and deſtruction; and the time came when they were again to revive and flouriſh. Italy was as much diſtinguiſhed in the 16th century, as France was in the ſucceeding one, which by the victories of Lewis XIV. or rather by the genius of the great men that flouriſhed together under his reign, deſerves to make an epocha in the hiſtory of the fine arts.

In France all the efforts of the human mind were

BOOK XIX. at once exerted in producing works of genius, as they had before been in Italy. Its powers were displayed in the marble and on the canvas, in public edifices and gardens, as well as in eloquence and poetry. Every thing was submitted to its influence, not only the arts of ingenuity, which are mechanical, and require manual labour, but thoſe alſo which depend ſolely on the mind. Every thing bore the ſtamp of genius. The colours diſplayed in natural objects enlivened the works of imagination; and the human paſſions animated the deſigns of the pencil. Man gave ſpirit to matter, and body to ſpirit. But it deſerves to be particularly obſerved that this happened at a time when a paſſion for glory animated a nation, great and powerful by its ſituation, and the extent of its empire. The ſenſe of honour which raiſed it in its own eſtimation, and which then diſtinguiſhed it in the eyes of all Europe, was its ſoul, its inſtinct, and ſupplied the place of that liberty which had formerly given riſe to the arts of genius in the republics of Athens and of Rome, which had revived them in that of Florence, and compelled them to flouriſh on the bleak and cloudy borders of the Thames.

What would not genius have effected in France, had it been under the influence of laws only, when its exertions were ſo great under the dominion of the moſt abſolute of kings? When we ſee what energy patriotiſm has given to the Engliſh, in ſpite of the inactivity of their climate, we may judge what it might have produced among the French, where a moſt mild temperature of ſeaſon leads a people, naturally ſenſible and lively, to invention and enjoyment. We may conceive what its effects would have been in a country, where, as in ancient Greece, are to be found men of active and lively genius, fitted for invention, from being warmed by the moſt powerful and enlivening rays of the ſun; where there are men ſtrong and robuſt in a climate, in which even the cold excites to labour; in which we meet with temperate provinces between north and ſouth; ſea-ports, together with na-

vigable rivers; vaſt plains abounding in corn; hills loaded with vineyards and fruits of all ſorts; ſalt pits which may be increaſed at pleaſure; paſtures covered with horſes; mountains clothed with the fineſt woods; a country every where peopled with laborious hands; which are the firſt reſources for ſubſiſtence; the common materials for the arts, and the ſuperfluities of luxury; in a word, where we meet with the commerce of Athens, the induſtry of Corinth, the ſoldiery of Sparta, and the flocks of Arcadia. With all theſe advantages, which Greece once poſſeſſed, France might have carried the fine arts to as great a height as that parent of genius, had ſhe been ſubject to the ſame laws, and given a ſcope to the ſame exerciſe of reaſon and liberty, by which great men, and the rulers of powerful nations, are produced.

Next to the ſuperiority of legiſlation among modern nations, to raiſe them to an equality with the ancients in works of genius, there has, perhaps, been wanting only an improvement in language. The Romans, who, like the Greeks, knew the influence of dialect over the manners, had endeavoured to extend their language with their arms; and they had ſucceeded in cauſing it to be adopted in all places where they had eſtabliſhed their dominion. Almoſt all Europe ſpoke Latin, except only a few obſcure men, who had taken refuge among inacceſſible mountains: but the invaſion of the barbarians ſoon changed the nature of this language. With the harmonious ſounds of an idiom poliſhed by genius and by delicate organs, theſe people, who were warriors and hunters, blended the rude accents and the coarſe expreſſions they brought along with them from their gloomy foreſts and ſevere climate. There were ſoon as many different languages as forms of governments. At the revival of letters, theſe languages muſt naturally have acquired a more ſublime and a more agreeable pronunciation. This improvement took place but very ſlowly, becauſe all thoſe who had any talents for writing, diſdaining a language deſtitute of graces, ſtrength,

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and amenity, employed in their performances, with greater or leſs propriety, the language of the ancient Romans.

The Italians were the firſt who ſhook off this humiliating yoke. Their language, with harmony, accent, and quantity, is peculiarly adapted to expreſs all the images of poetry, and convey all the delightful impreſſions of muſic. Theſe two arts have conſecrated this language to the harmony of ſound, it being the moſt proper to expreſs it.

The French language holds the ſuperiority in proſe; if it be not the language of the gods, it is, at leaſt, that of reaſon and of truth. Proſe is peculiarly adapted to convince the underſtanding in philoſophical reſearches. It enlightens the minds of thoſe whom nature has bleſſed with ſuperior talents, who ſeem placed between princes and their ſubjects to inſtruct and direct mankind. At a period when liberty has no longer her tribunes nor amphitheatres to excite commotions in vaſt aſſemblies of the people, a language which ſpreads itſelf in books, which is read in all countries, which ſerves as the common interpreter of all other languages, and as the vehicle of all ſorts of ideas; a language ennobled, refined, ſoftened, and above all, ſettled by the genius of writers and the poliſh of courts, becomes at length univerſally prevailing.

The Engliſh language has likewiſe had its poets and its proſe-writers, who have gained it the character of energy and boldneſs, ſufficient to render it immortal. May it be learned among all nations who aſpire not to be ſlaves! They will dare to think, act, and govern themſelves. It is not the language of words, but of ideas; and the Engliſh have none but ſuch as are ſtrong and forcible; they are the firſt who ever made uſe of the expreſſion, *the majeſty of the people*, and that alone is ſufficient to conſecrate a language.

The Spaniards have hitherto properly had neither proſe nor verſe, though they have a language formed to excel in both. Brilliant and ſonorous as pure gold,

its pronunciation is grave and regular like the dances of that nation; it is grand and decent, like the manners of ancient chivalry. This language may claim ſome diſtinction, and even acquire a ſuperior degree of perfection, whenever there ſhall be found in it many ſuch writers as Cervantes and Mariana. When its academy ſhall have put to ſilence the inquiſition and its univerſities, that language will raiſe itſelf to great ideas, and to ſublime truths, to which it is invited by the natural pride of the people who ſpeak it.

Prior to all other living languages is the German, that mother tongue, that original native language of Europe. From thence the Engliſh and French too have been formed, by the mixture of the German with the Latin. However, as it ſeems little calculated to pleaſe the eye, or to be pronounced by delicate organs, it has been ſpoken only by the people, and has been introduced but of late into books. The few writers that have appeared in it, ſeemed to ſhow that it belonged to a country where the fine arts, poetry, and eloquence, were not deſtined to flouriſh. But on a ſudden, genius has exerted her powers; and originals, in more than one ſpecies of poetry, have appeared rather in conſiderable numbers ſufficient to enter into competition with other nations.

Languages could not be cultivated and refined to a certain degree, but the arts of every kind muſt at the ſame time aquire an equal degree of perfection; and indeed the monuments of theſe arts have ſo much increaſed throughout Europe, that the barbariſm of ſucceeding people and of future ages will find it difficult entirely to deſtroy them.

But as commotions and revolutions are ſo natural to mankind, there is only wanting ſome glowing genius, ſome enthuſiaſt, to ſet the world again in flames. The people of the Eaſt, or of the North, are ſtill ready to enſlave and plunge all Europe into its former darkneſs. Would not an irruption of Tartars or Africans into Italy, be ſufficient to overturn churches and palaces, to

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But it is by means of the arts that man enjoys his exiſtence, and ſurvives himſelf. Ages of ignorance never emerge from their oblivion. There remains no more trace of them after their exiſtence, than before they began to exiſt. There is no poſſibility of indicating the place or time of their paſſage, nor can we mark on the ground belonging to a barbarous people, *it is here they lived;* for they leave not even ruins to lead us to collect that they have ever exiſted. It is invention alone that gives man power over matter and time. The genius of Homer has rendered the Greek language indelible. Harmony and reaſon have placed the eloquence of Cicero above all the ſacred orators. The pontiffs themſelves, poliſhed and enlightened by the information and attractive influence of the arts, by being admirers and protectors of them, have aſſiſted the human mind to break the chains of ſuperſtition. Commerce has haſtened the progreſs of art by means of the luxury which wealth has diffuſed. All the efforts of the mind, and the exertions of manual labour have been united to embelliſh and to improve the condition of the human ſpecies. Induſtry and invention, together with the enjoyments procured by the New World, have penetrated as far as the polar circle, and the fine arts are attempting to riſe

ſuperior to the obſtacles of nature even at Peterſburgh.

Orators, poets, hiſtorians, painters, and ſtatuaries, are made to be the friends of great men. Heralds of their fame during their life, they are the eternal preſervers of it when they no longer exiſt. In rendering their names immortal, they immortaliſe themſelves. It is by theſe ſeveral orders of men, that the nations diſtinguiſh themſelves among contemporary nations. The arts, after having rendered them illuſtrious, alſo reſtore wealth to them, when they are become indigent. It is ancient Rome which at preſent ſubſiſts modern Rome. Let the people whom they honour, both at the preſent and at future times, if they be not ungrateful, honour them in their turn. Ye nations, you will paſs away, but their productions will remain. The torch of genius, which enlightens you, will be extinguiſhed if you neglect it; and after having walked in darkneſs for ſome ages, you will fall in the abyſs of oblivion, which hath ſwallowed up ſo many nations that have preceded you, not becauſe they have been deſtitute of virtues, but of a ſacred voice to celebrate them.

Beware eſpecially of adding perſecution to indifference. It is certainly enough for a writer to brave the reſentment of the intolerant magiſtrate, of the fanatic ſpirit, of the ſuſpicious nobleman, and of all ranks of men proud of their prerogatives, without being alſo expoſed to the ſeverities of government. To inflict upon a philoſopher an infamous or capital puniſhment, is to condemn him to puſillanimity or to ſilence: it is to ſtifle or to baniſh genius; it is to put a ſtop to national information, and to the progreſs of knowledge.

It will be ſaid, that theſe reflections are thoſe of a man who is thoroughly determined to ſpeak without circumſpection of perſons and things; of perſons, whom one ſcarce dares to addreſs with frankneſs; of things, concerning which a writer endowed with a little ſhare of ſenſe neither thinks nor expreſſes himſelf

BOOK XIX. as the vulgar, and who yet would wiſh to eſcape proſcription. This may poſſibly be the caſe, and wherefore ſhould it not be? Nevertheleſs, whatever may happen, I will never betray the honourable cauſe of liberty. If I experience nothing but misfortunes from it, which I neither expect nor dread, ſo much the worſe for the author of thoſe misfortunes. He will be deteſted during life, for one inſtant of my exiſtence which he ſhall have diſpoſed of with injuſtice and violence. His name will be handed down to future ages branded with ignominy; and this cruel ſentence would be independent of the ſmall value, or of the little merit of my writings.

Philoſophy. To the train of letters and fine arts philoſophy is annexed, which one would imagine ought rather to direct them; but appearing later than they did, can only be conſidered as their attendant. Arts ariſe from the very neceſſities of mankind in the earlieſt ſtate of the human mind. Letters are the flowers of its youth; children of the imagination, being themſelves fond of ornament, they decorate every thing they approach; and this turn for embelliſhment produces what are properly called the fine arts, or the arts of luxury and elegance, which give the poliſh to the primary arts of neceſſity. It is then we ſee the winged genii of ſculpture fluttering over the porticos of architecture; and the genii of painting entering palaces, repreſenting the heavens upon a cieling, ſketching out upon wool and ſilk all the animated ſcenes of rural life, and tracing to the mind upon canvas the uſeful truths of hiſtory, as well as the agreeable chimeras of fable.

When the mind has been employed on the pleaſures of the imagination and of the ſenſes, when governments have arrived to a degree of maturity, reaſon ariſes and beſtows on the nations a certain turn for reflection; this is the age of philoſophy. She advances with gradual ſteps, and proceeds ſilently along, announcing the decline of empires which ſhe attempts in vain to ſupport. She cloſed the latter ages of the celebrated republics of Greece and Rome. Athens had no phi-

loſophers till the eve of her ruin, which they ſeemed to foretel: Cicero and Lucretius did not compoſe their writings on the nature of the gods, and the ſyſtem of the world, till the confuſion of the civil wars aroſe, and haſtened the deſtruction of liberty.

Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, had however laid the foundations of natural philoſophy in the theories of the elements of matter; but the rage of forming ſyſtems ſucceſſively ſubverted theſe ſeveral principles. Socrates then appeared, who brought back philoſophy to the principles of true wiſdom and virtue: it was that alone he loved, practiſed, and taught, perſuaded that morality, and not ſcience, was conducive to the happineſs of man. Plato, his diſciple, though a natural philoſopher, and inſtructed in the myſteries of nature by his travels into Egypt, aſcribed every thing to the ſoul, and ſcarce any thing to nature; he confounded philoſophy with theological ſpeculations, and the knowledge of the univerſe with the ideas of the divinity. Ariſtotle, the diſciple of Plato, turned his inquiries leſs on the nature of the Deity, than on that of man and of animals. His natural hiſtory has been tranſmitted to poſterity, though it was holden only in moderate eſtimation by his contemporaries. Epicurus, who lived nearly about the ſame period, revived the atoms of Democritus; a ſyſtem, which doubtleſs balanced that of the four elements of Ariſtotle: and as theſe were the two prevailing ſyſtems at that time, no improvements were made in natural philoſophy. The moral philoſophers engaged the attention of the people, who underſtood their ſyſtem better than that of the natural philoſopher. They eſtabliſhed ſchools; for as ſoon as opinions gain a degree of reputation, parties are immediately formed to ſupport them.

In theſe circumſtances, Greece, agitated by interior commotions, after having been torn with an inteſtine war, was ſubdued by Macedonia, and its government diſſolved by the Romans. Then public calamities turned the hearts and underſtandings of men to mora-

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lity. Zeno and Democritus, who had been only natural philoſophers, became, a conſiderable time after their death, the heads of two ſects of moral philoſophers, more addicted to theology than phyſics, rather caſuiſts than philoſophers; or it might rather be affirmed, that philoſophy was given up and confined entirely to the ſophiſts. The Romans, who had borrowed every thing from the Greeks, made no diſcoveries in the true ſyſtem of philoſophy. Among the ancients it made little progreſs; becauſe it was entirely confined to morality: among the moderns, its firſt ſteps have been more fortunate, becauſe they have been guided by the light of natural knowledge.

We muſt not reckon the interval of near a thouſand years, during which period philoſophy, ſcience, arts, and letters, were buried in the ruins of the Roman empire, among the aſhes of ancient Italy, and the duſt of the cloiſters. In Aſia, their monuments were ſtill preſerved, though not attended to; and in Europe, ſome fragments of them remained which ſhe did not know. The world was divided into Chriſtian and Mohammedan, and everywhere covered with the blood of nations: ignorance alone triumphed under the ſtandard of the croſs or the creſcent. Before theſe dreaded ſigns, every knee was bent, every ſpirit trembled.

Philoſophy continued in a ſtate of infancy, pronouncing only the names of God and of the ſoul: her attention was ſolely engaged on matters of which ſhe ſhould for ever have remained ignorant. Time, argument, and all her application, were waſted on queſtions that were, at leaſt, idle; queſtions, for the moſt part, void of ſenſe, not to be defined, and not to be determined from the nature of their object; and which, therefore, proved an eternal ſource of diſputes, ſchiſms, ſects, hatred, perſecution, and national as well as religious wars.

In the mean time, the Arabs, after their conqueſts, carried away, as it were in triumph, the ſpoils of genius and philoſophy. Ariſtotle fell into their hands, preſerved from the ruins of ancient Greece. Theſe de-

ſtroyers of empires had ſome ſciences of which they had been the inventors; among which arithmetic is to be numbered. By the knowledge of aſtronomy and geometry, they diſcovered the coaſts of Africa, which they laid waſte, and peopled again; and they were always great proficients in medicine. That ſcience, which has, perhaps, no greater recommendation in its favour, than its affinity with chemiſtry and natural knowledge, rendered them as celebrated as aſtrology, which is another ſupport of empirical impoſition. Avicenna and Averroès, who were equally ſkilled in phyſic, mathematics, and philoſophy, preſerved the tradition of true ſcience by tranſlations and commentaries. But let us imagine what muſt become of Ariſtotle, tranſlated from Greek into Arabic, and after that, from Arabic into Latin, under the hands of monks, who wanted to adapt the philoſophy of paganiſm to the ſyſtems of Moſes and Chriſt. This confuſion of opinions, ideas, and language, ſtopped for a conſiderable time the progreſs of ſcience, and the reducing of it into a regular ſyſtem. The divine overturned the materials brought by the philoſopher, who ſapped the very foundations laid by his rival. However, with a few ſtones from one, and much ſand from the other, ſome wretched architects raiſed a ſtrange Gothic monument, called the philoſophy of the ſchools. Continually amended, renewed, and ſupported, from age to age, by Iriſh or Spaniſh metaphyſicians, it maintained itſelf till about the time of the diſcovery of the New World, which was deſtined to change the face of the Old one.

Light ſprang from the midſt of darkneſs. An Engliſh monk applied himſelf to the practice of chemiſtry, and paving the way for the invention of gunpowder, which was to bring America into ſubjection to Europe, opened the avenues of true ſcience by experimental philoſophy. Thus philoſophy iſſued out of the cloiſter, where ignorance remained. When Boccacio had expoſed the debauched lives of the regular and ſecular clergy, Galileo ventured to form conjectures upon the figure of the earth. Superſtition was alarmed at it;

BOOK XIX. and its clamours, as well as its menaces, were heard: but philoſophy tore off the maſk from the monſter, and rent the vail under which truth had been hidden. The weakneſs and falſehood of popular opinions was perceived, on which ſociety was then founded; but in order to put an effectual ſtop to error, it was neceſſary to be acquainted with the laws of nature, and the cauſes of her various phenomena: and that was the object philoſophy had in view.

As ſoon as Copernicus was dead, after he had, by the power of reaſon, conjectured that the ſun was in the centre of our world, Galileo aroſe, and confirmed, by the invention of the teleſcope, the true ſyſtem of aſtronomy, which either had been unknown, or lay in oblivion ever ſince Pythagoras had conceived it. While Gaſſendi was reviving the elements of ancient philoſophy, or the atoms of Epicurus, Deſcartes imagined and combined the elements of a new philoſophy, or his ingenious and ſubtile vortexes. Almoſt about the ſame time, Toricelli invented, at Florence, the barometer, to determine the weight of the air; Paſcal meaſured the height of the mountains of Auvergne; and Boyle, in England, verified and confirmed the various experiments of both.

Deſcartes had taught the art of doubting, in order to undeceive the mind previous to inſtruction. The method of doubting propoſed by him was the grand inſtrument of ſcience, and the moſt ſignal ſervice that could be rendered to the human mind under the darkneſs which ſurrounded, and the chains which fettered it. Bayle, by applying that method to opinions the beſt authoriſed by the ſanction of time and power, has made us ſenſible of its importance.

Chancellor Bacon, a philoſopher, but unſucceſsful at court, as friar Bacon had been in the cloiſter, like him the harbinger rather than the eſtabliſher of the new philoſophy, had proteſted equally againſt the prejudice of the ſenſes and the ſchools, as againſt thoſe phantoms he ſtyled the idols of the underſtanding. He had foretold truths he could not diſcover. In confor-

mity to the reſult of his reaſoning, which might be conſidered as oracular, while experimental philoſophy was diſcovering facts, rational philoſophy was in ſearch of cauſes. Both contributed to the ſtudy of mathematics, which were to guide the efforts of the mind, and inſure their ſucceſs. It was, in fact, the ſcience of algebra applied to geometry, and the application of geometry to natural philoſophy, which made Newton conjecture the true ſyſtem of the world. Upon taking a view of the heavens, he perceived in the fall of bodies to the earth, and in the motions of the heavenly bodies, a certain analogy which implied an univerſal principle, differing from impulſe, the only viſible cauſe of all their movements. From the ſtudy of aſtronomy he next applied himſelf to that of optics, and this led him to conjecture the origin of light; and the experiments which he made in conſequence of this inquiry, reduced it into a ſyſtem.

At the time when Deſcartes died, Newton and Leibnitz were but juſt born, who were to finiſh, correct, and bring to perfection, what he had begun; that is to ſay, the eſtabliſhing of ſound philoſophy. Theſe two men alone greatly contributed to its quick and rapid progreſs. One carried the knowledge of God and the ſoul as far as reaſon could lead it; and the unſucceſsfulneſs of his attempts undeceived the human mind for ever with reſpect to ſuch falſe ſyſtems of metaphyſics. The other extended the principles of natural philoſophy and the mathematics much further than the genius of many ages had been able to carry them, and pointed out the road to truth. At the ſame time, Locke, preceded by Hobbes, a man on whom nature had beſtowed an uncommon underſtanding, and who had remained obſcure from the very boldneſs of his principles, which ought to have had a contrary effect; Locke, I ſay, attacked ſcientific prejudices, even into the intrenchments of the ſchools: he diſſipated all thoſe phantoms of the imagination, which Malebranche ſuffered to ſpring up again, after he had pointed out

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their abſurdity, becauſe he did not attack the foundation on which they were ſupported.

But we are not to ſuppoſe that philoſophers alone have diſcovered and imagined every thing. It is the courſe of events which has given a certain tendency to the actions and thoughts of mankind. A complication of natural or moral cauſes, a gradual improvement in polities, joined to the progreſs of ſtudy and of the ſciences, a combination of circumſtances which it was as impoſſible to haſten as to foreſee, muſt have contributed to the revolution that has prevailed in the underſtandings of men. Among nations, as among individuals, the body and ſoul act and react alternately upon each other. Popular opinions infect even philoſophers, and philoſophers are guides to the people. Galileo had aſſerted, that as the earth turned round the ſun, there muſt be Antipodes; and Drake proved the fact, by a voyage round the world. The church ſtyled itſelf univerſal, and the pope called himſelf maſter of the earth: and yet, more than two-thirds of its inhabitants did not ſo much as know there was any Catholic religion, and particularly that there was a pope. Europeans, who have travelled and trafficked everywhere, taught Europe that one portion of the globe adopted the viſionary opinions of Mohammed, and a ſtill larger one lived in the darkneſs of idolatry, or in the total ignorance and unenlightened ſtate of atheiſm. Thus philoſophy extended the empire of human knowledge, by the diſcovery of the errors of ſuperſtition, and of the truths of nature.

Italy, whoſe impatient genius penetrated through the obſtacles that ſurrounded it, was the firſt that founded an academy of natural philoſophy. France and England, who were to aggrandize themſelves even by their competition, raiſed at one time two everlaſting monuments to the improvement of philoſophy: two academies, from whence all the learned men of Europe derive their information, and in which they depoſit all their ſtores of knowledge. From hence

have been brought to light a great number of the myſterious points in nature; experiments, phenomena, diſcoveries in the arts and ſciences, the ſecrets of electricity, and the cauſes of the Aurora Borealis. Hence have proceeded the inſtruments and means of purifying air on board of ſhips, for making ſea-water fit to be drunk, for determining the figure of the earth, and aſcertaining the longitudes; for improving agriculture, and for producing more grain, with leſs ſeed and leſs labour.

Ariſtotle had reigned ten centuries in all the ſchools of Europe; and the Chriſtians, after loſing the guidance of reaſon, were able to recover it again only by following his footſteps. Their implicit attachment to that philoſopher had, for a conſiderable time, cauſed them to err, in blindly following him through the darkneſs of theological doctrines. But at length Deſcartes pointed out the way, and Newton ſupplied the power of extricating them out of that labyrinth. Doubt had diſſipated prejudices, and the method of analyſis had found out the truth. After the two Bacons, Galileo, Deſcartes, Hobbes, Locke, and Bayle, Leibnitz and Newton, after the memoirs of the academies of Florence and Leipſic, of Paris and London, there ſtill remained a great work to be compoſed, in order to perpetuate the ſciences and philoſophy. This work hath now appeared.

This book, which contains all the errors and all the truths that have iſſued from the human mind, from the doctrines of theology to the ſpeculations on inſects; which contains an account of every work of the hands of men from a ſhip to a pin; this repoſitory of the intelligence of all nations, which would have been more perfect, had it not been executed in the midſt of all kinds of perſecutions and of obſtacles; this repoſitory will, in future ages, characterize that of philoſophy, which, after ſo many advantages procured to mankind, ought to be conſidered as a divinity on earth. It is ſhe who unites, enlightens, aids, and comforts mankind. She beſtows every thing upon them, without exacting

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any worſhip in return. She requires of them, not the ſacrifice of their paſſions, but a reaſonable, uſeful, and moderate exerciſe of all their faculties. Daughter of Nature, diſpenſer of her gifts, interpreter of her rights, ſhe conſecrates her intelligence and her labour to the uſe of man. She renders him better, that he may be happier. She deteſts only tyranny and impoſture, becauſe they oppreſs mankind. She does not deſire to rule; but ſhe exacts of ſuch as govern, to conſider public happineſs as the only ſource of their enjoyment. She avoids conteſts, and the name of ſects; but ſhe tolerates them all. The blind and the wicked calumniate her; the former are afraid of perceiving their errors, and the latter of having them detected. Ungrateful children, who rebel againſt a tender mother, when ſhe wiſhes to free them from their errors and vices, which occaſion the calamities of mankind!

Light, however, ſpreads inſenſibly over a more extenſive horizon. Literature has formed a kind of empire which prepares the way for making Europe be conſidered as one ſingle republican power. In truth, if philoſophy be ever enabled to inſinuate itſelf into the minds of ſovereigns, or their miniſters, the ſyſtem of politics will be improved, and rendered ſimple. Humanity will be more regarded in all plans; the public good will enter into negotiations, not merely as an expreſſion, but as an object of utility even to kings.

Printing has already made ſuch a progreſs, that it can never be put a ſtop to in any ſtate, without lowering the people, in order to advance the authority of government. Books enlighten the body of the people, humanize the great, are the delight of the leiſure hours of the rich, and inform all the claſſes of ſociety. The ſciences bring to perfection the different branches of political economy. Even the errors of ſyſtematical perſons are diſpelled by the productions of the preſs, becauſe reaſoning and diſcuſſion try them by the teſt of truth.

An intercourſe of knowledge is become neceſſary for induſtry, and literature alone maintains that com-

munication. The reading of a voyage round the world has, perhaps, occaſioned more attempts of that kind; for intereſt alone cannot find the means of enterpriſe. At preſent nothing can be cultivated without ſome ſtudy, or without the knowledge that has been handed down and diffuſed by reading. Princes themſelves have not recovered their rights from the uſurpations of the clergy, but by the aſſiſtance of that knowledge which has undeceived the people with reſpect to the abuſes of all ſpiritual power. BOOK XIX.

But it would be the greateſt folly of the human mind to have employed all its powers to increaſe the authority of kings, and to break the ſeveral chains that held it in ſubjection, in order to become the ſlave of deſpotiſm. The ſame courage that religion inſpires to withdraw conſcience from the tyranny exerciſed over opinion, the honeſt man, the citizen, and friend of the people ought to maintain, to free the nations from the tyranny of ſuch powers as conſpire againſt the liberty of mankind. Woe to that ſtate in which there is not to be found one ſingle defender of the public rights of the nation. The kingdom, with all its riches, its trade, its nobles, and its citizens, muſt ſoon fall into unavoidable anarchy. It is the laws that are to ſave a nation from deſtruction, and the freedom of writing is to ſupport and preſerve laws. But what is the foundation and bulwark of the laws? It is morality.

Attempts have too long been made to degrade man. His detractors have made a monſter of him. In their ſpleen they have loaded him with outrages; the guilty ſatisfaction of lowering the human ſpecies hath alone conducted their gloomy pencils. Who art thou then who dareſt thus to inſult thy fellow-creatures? What place gave thee birth? Is it from the inmoſt receſſes of thy heart that thou haſt poured forth ſo many blaſphemies? If thy pride had been leſs infatuated, or thy diſpoſition leſs ferocious and barbarous, thou wouldſt have ſeen only in man a being always feeble, often ſeduced by error, ſometimes carried away by Morals.

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imagination, but produced from the hands of nature with virtuous propenſities.

Man is born with the ſeeds of virtue, although he be not born virtuous. He doth not attain to this ſublime ſtate till after he hath ſtudied himſelf, till after he hath become acquainted with his duties, and contracted the habit of fulfilling them. The ſcience which leads to that high degree of perfection is called morality. It is the rule of actions, and, if one may be allowed the expreſſion, the art of virtue. Encouragements and praiſes are due for all the labours undertaken to remove the calamities which ſurround us, to increaſe the number of our enjoyments, to embelliſh the dream of our life, to exalt, to improve, and to illuſtrate our ſpecies. Eternal bleſſings upon thoſe who by their ſtudies and by their genius have procured any of theſe advantages to human nature! But the firſt crown will be for that wiſe man whoſe affecting and enlightened writings will have had a more noble aim, that of making us better.

The hope of obtaining ſo great a glory hath given riſe to numberleſs productions. What a variety of uſeleſs and even pernicious books! They are in general the work of prieſts and their diſciples, who, not chooſing to ſee that religion ſhould conſider men only in the relation they ſtand in to the Divinity, made it neceſſary to look for another ground for the relations they bear to one another. If there be an univerſal ſyſtem of morality, it cannot be the effect of a particular cauſe. It has been the ſame in paſt ages, and it will continue the ſame in future times: it cannot then be grounded on religious opinions, which, ever ſince the beginning of the world, and from one pole to the other, have continually varied. Greece had vicious deities, the Romans had them likewiſe: the ſenſeleſs worſhipper of the Fetiches adores rather a devil than a god. Every people made gods for themſelves, and gave them ſuch attributes as they choſe: to ſome they aſcribed goodneſs, to others cruelty, to ſome immorality, and to others the greateſt ſanctity and ſeverity of

manners. One would imagine, that every nation intended to deify its own paſſions and opinions. Notwithſtanding this diverſity in religious ſyſtems and modes of worſhip, all nations have perceived that men ought to be juſt; they have all honoured as virtues, goodneſs, pity, friendſhip, fidelity, paternal tenderneſs, filial reſpect, ſincerity, gratitude, patriotiſm; in a word, all thoſe ſentiments which may be conſidered as ſo many ties adapted to unite men more cloſely to one another. The origin of that uniformity of judgment, ſo conſtant, ſo general, ought not then to be looked for in the midſt of contradictory and tranſient opinions. If the miniſters of religion have appeared to think otherwiſe, it is becauſe by their ſyſtem they were enabled to regulate all the actions of mankind, to diſpoſe of their fortunes and command their wills, and to ſecure to themſelves, in the name of Heaven, the attributary government of the world.

Their empire was ſo abſolute, that they had ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing that barbarous ſyſtem of morality, which placed the only pleaſures that make life ſupportable in the rank of the greateſt crimes; an abject morality, which impoſed the obligation of being pleaſed with humiliation and ſhame; an extravagant morality, which threatened with the ſame puniſhments both the foibles of love and the moſt atrocious actions; a ſuperſtitious morality, which enjoined to murder, without compaſſion, all thoſe who ſwerved from the prevailing opinions; a puerile morality, which founded the moſt eſſential duties upon tales equally diſguſting and ridiculous; an intereſted morality, which admitted no other virtues than thoſe which were uſeful to prieſthood, nor no other crimes than thoſe which were contrary to it. If prieſts had only encouraged men to obſerve natural morality by the hope or the fear of future rewards and puniſhments, they would have deſerved well of ſociety; but in endeavouring to ſupport by violence uſeful tenets, which had only been introduced by the mild way of perſua-

BOOK XIX. ſion, they have removed the vail which concealed the depth of their ambition: the maſk is fallen off.

It is more than two thouſand years ſince Socrates, ſpreading out a vail above our heads, had declared, that nothing of what was paſſing beyond that vail concerned us; and that the actions of men were not good becauſe they were pleaſing to the gods, but that they were pleaſing to the gods becauſe they were good: a principle which ſeparated morality from religion.

Accordingly, at the tribunal of philoſophy and reaſon, morality is a ſcience, the object of which is the preſervation and common happineſs of the human ſpecies. To this double end all its rules ought to be referred. Their natural, conſtant, and eternal principle is in man himſelf, and in a reſemblance there is in the general organization of men, which includes a ſimilarity of wants, of pleaſures and pains, of force and weakneſs; a ſimilarity from whence ariſes the neceſſity of ſociety, or of a common oppoſition againſt ſuch dangers as are equally incident to each individual, which proceeds from nature herſelf, and threatens man on all ſides. Such is the origin of particular connections and domeſtic virtues: ſuch is the origin of general duties and of public virtues: ſuch is the ſource of the notion of perſonal and public utility, the ſource of all compacts between individuals, and of all laws.

There is, properly ſpeaking, only one virtue, which is juſtice, and only one duty, to make one's ſelf happy. The virtuous man is he who hath the moſt exact notions of juſtice and happineſs, and whoſe conduct conforms moſt rigorouſly to them. There are two tribunals, that of nature, and that of the laws.

The law chaſtiſes crimes, nature chaſtiſes vices. The law preſents the gallows to the aſſaſſin, nature preſents dropſy or conſumption to intemperance.

Several writers have endeavoured to trace the firſt principles of morality in the ſentiments of friendſhip, tenderneſs, compaſſion, honour, and benevolence, be-

cauſe they found them engraven on the human heart. But did they not alſo find there hatred, jealouſy, revenge, pride, and the love of dominion? For what reaſon, therefore, have they founded morality on the former principles rather than on the latter? It is becauſe they have underſtood that the former were of general advantage to ſociety, and the others fatal to it. Thoſe philoſophers have perceived the neceſſity of morality, they have conceived what it ought to be, but have not diſcovered its leading and fundamental principle. The very ſentiments, indeed, which they adopt as the ground-work of morality, becauſe they appear to be ſerviceable to the common good, if left to themſelves, would be very prejudicial to it. How can we determine to puniſh the guilty, if we liſten only to the pleas of compaſſion? How ſhall we guard againſt partiality, if we conſult only the dictates of friendſhip? How ſhall we avoid being favourable to idleneſs, if we attend only to the ſentiments of benevolence? All theſe virtues have their limits, beyond which they degenerate into vices; and thoſe limits are ſettled by the invariable rules of eſſential juſtice, or, which is the ſame thing, by the common intereſts of men united together in ſociety, and the conſtant object of that union.

Is it on its own account that valour is ranked among the number of virtues? No; it is on account of the ſervice it is of to ſociety. This is evident from the circumſtance of its being puniſhed as a crime in a man who makes uſe of it to diſturb the public peace. Wherefore is drunkenneſs a vice? Becauſe every man is bound to contribute to the common good; and, to fulfil that obligation, he muſt maintain the free exerciſe of his faculties. Wherefore are certain actions more blameable in a magiſtrate or general than in a private man? Becauſe greater inconveniencies reſult from them to ſociety.

The obligations of the man ſeparated from ſociety are unknown to me, ſince I can neither perceive the ſource nor the end of them. As he lives by himſelf,

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he is certainly at liberty to live for himſelf alone. No being has a right to require ſuccours from him which he does not implore for himſelf. It is quite the contrary with reſpect to a perſon who lives in the ſocial ſtate. He is nothing by himſelf, and is ſupported only by what ſurrounds him. His poſſeſſions, his enjoyments, his powers, and even his own exiſtence, all belong entirely to the body of the ſtate: he owes them all to the body politic, of which he is a member.

The misfortunes of ſociety become thoſe of the citizen; he runs the riſk of being cruſhed, whatever part of the edifice may fall down. If he ſhould commit an injuſtice, he is threatened with a ſimilar one. If he ſhould give himſelf up to crimes, others may become criminal to his prejudice. He muſt therefore tend conſtantly to the general good, ſince it is upon this proſperity that his own depends.

If one ſingle individual ſhould attend only to his intereſt, without any concern for thoſe of the public; if he ſhould exempt himſelf from the common duty, under pretence that the actions of one individual cannot have a determined influence upon the general order, other perſons will alſo be deſirous of indulging their perſonal propenſities. Then all the members of the republic will become alternately executioners and victims. Every one will commit and receive injuries, every one will rob and be robbed, every one will ſtrike and receive a blow. A ſtate of warfare will prevail between all ſorts of individuals. The ſtate will be ruined, and the citizens will be ruined with the ſtate.

The firſt men who collected themſelves into ſociety were undoubtedly not immediately ſenſible of the whole of theſe truths. The idea of their ſtrength being moſt prevalent in them, they were probably deſirous of obtaining every thing by the exertion of it. Repeated calamities warned them in proceſs of time of the neceſſity of forming conventions. Reciprocal obligations increaſed in proportion as the neceſſity of them was felt: thus it is that duty began with ſociety.

Duty may therefore be defined to be the rigid obli-

gation of doing whatever is ſuitable to ſociety. It includes the practice of all the virtues, ſince there is not one of them which is not uſeful to a civilized body; and it excludes all the vices, becauſe there is not one which is not prejudicial to it.

It would be reaſoning pitifully to imagine, with ſome corrupt perſons, that men have a right to deſpiſe all the virtues, under pretence that they are only inſtitutions of convenience. Wretch that thou art, wouldſt thou live in a ſociety which cannot ſubſiſt without them; wouldſt thou enjoy the advantages which reſult from them, and wouldſt thou think thyſelf diſpenſed from practiſing, or even from holding them in eſtimation? What could poſſibly be the object of them if they were not connected with man? Would this great name have been given to acts that were merely barren? On the contrary, it is their neceſſity which conſtitutes their eſſence and their merit. Let me once more repeat, that all morality conſiſts in the maintenance of order. Its principles are ſteady and uniform, but the application of them varies ſometimes according to the climate, and to the local or political ſituation of the people. Polygamy is in general more natural to hot than to cold climates. Circumſtances, however, of the times, in oppoſition to the rule of the climate, may order monogamy in one iſland of Africa, and permit polygamy in Kamtſchatka, if one be a means of putting a ſtop to the exceſs of population at Madagaſcar, and the other of haſtening its progreſs upon the coaſts of the frozen ſea. But nothing can authoriſe adultery and fornication in thoſe two zones, when conventions have eſtabliſhed the laws of marriage or of property in the uſe of women.

It is the ſame thing with reſpect to all the lands and to property. What would be a robbery in a ſtate, where property is juſtly diſtributed, becomes ſubſiſtence for life in a ſtate where property is in common. Thus it is that theft and adultery were not permitted at Sparta; but the public right allowed what would be conſidered elſewhere as theft and adultery. It was

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not the wife or the property of another perſon that was then taken, but the wife and the property of all, when the laws granted as a reward to dexterity every advantage it could procure to itſelf.

It is everywhere known what is juſt and unjuſt; but the ſame ideas are not univerſally attached to the ſame actions. In hot countries, where the climate requires no clothing, modeſty is not offended by nakedneſs; but the abuſe, whatever it may be, of the intercourſe between the ſexes, and premature attempts upon virginity, are crimes which muſt diſguſt. In India, where every thing conſpires to make a virtue even of the act itſelf of generation, it is a cruelty to put the cow to death which nouriſhes man with her milk, and to deſtroy thoſe animals whoſe life is not prejudicial, nor their death uſeful, to the human ſpecies. The Iroquois, or the Huron, who kill their father with a ſtroke of a club, rather than expoſe him to periſh of hunger, or upon the pile of the enemy, think they do an act of filial piety in obeying the laſt wiſhes of their parent, who aſks for death from them as a favour. The means the moſt oppoſite in appearance tend all equally to the ſame end, the maintenance and the proſperity of the body politic.

Such is that univerſal morality, which, being inherent in the nature of man, is alſo inherent in the nature of ſocieties; that morality which may vary only in its application, but never in its eſſence; that morality, in a word, to which all the laws muſt refer and be ſubordinate. According to this common rule of all our public and private actions, let us examine whether there ever were, or ever can be, good morals in Europe.

We live under the influence of three codes, the natural, the civil, and the religious code. It is evident, that as long as theſe three ſorts of legiſlations ſhall be contradictory to each other, it will be impoſſible to be virtuous. It will ſometimes be neceſſary to trample upon nature in order to obey ſocial inſtitutions, and to counteract ſocial inſtitutions to conform to the pre-

cepts of religion. The conſequence of this will be, that while we are alternately infringing upon theſe ſeveral authorities, we ſhall reſpect neither of them, and that we ſhall neither be men, nor citizens, nor pious perſons. BOOK XI.

Good morals would therefore require previous reform, which ſhould reduce theſe codes to identity. Religion ought neither to forbid nor to preſcribe any thing to us but what is preſcribed or forbidden by the civil law; and the civil and religious laws ought to model themſelves upon natural law, which hath been, is, and will always be the ſtrongeſt. From whence it appears, that a true legiſlator hath not yet exiſted; that it was neither Moſes, nor Solon, nor Numa, nor Mohammed, nor even Confucius; that it is not only in Athens, but alſo over all the globe, that the beſt legiſlation they could receive hath been given to man, not the beſt which could have been given to them; that in conſidering only morality, mankind would perhaps be leſs diſtant from happineſs had they remained in the ſimple and innocent ſtate of ſome ſavages; for nothing is ſo difficult as to eradicate inveterate and ſanctified prejudice. For the architect who draws the plan of a great edifice, an even area is better than one covered with bad materials, heaped upon one another without method and without plan, and unfortunately connected together by the moſt durable cements of time, of cuſtom, and of the authority of ſovereigns and of prieſts. Then the wiſe man advances in his work only with timidity; he is expoſed to greater riſks, and loſes more time in demoliſhing than in conſtructing.

Since the invaſion of the barbarians in this part of the world, almoſt all governments have had no other foundation than the intereſt of one ſingle man, or of a ſingle corporate body, to the prejudice of ſociety in general. Founded upon conqueſt, the effect of ſuperior ſtrength, they have only varied in the mode of keeping the people in ſubjection. At firſt war made victims of them, devoted either to the ſword of their

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enemies or to that of their maſters. How many ages have paſſed away in ſcenes of blood and in the carnage of nations, that is to ſay, in the diſtribution of empires, before the terms of peace had deified that ſtate of inteſtine war, which is called ſociety or government?

When the feudal government had for ever excluded thoſe who tilled the ground from the right of poſſeſſing it; when, by a ſacrilegious colluſion between the altar and the throne, the authority of God had been enforced by that of the ſword; what effect had the morality of the goſpel, but to authoriſe tyranny by the doctrine of paſſive obedience, but to confirm ſlavery by a contempt of the ſciences; in a word, to add to the terror of the great, that of evil ſpirits? And what were morals with ſuch laws? What they are at preſent in Poland, where the people, being without lands and without arms, are left to be maſſacred by the Ruſſians, or enliſted by the Pruſſians, and having neither courage nor ſentiment, think it is ſufficient if they are Chriſtians, and remain neutral between their neighbours and their lords palatine.

To a ſimilar ſtate of anarchy wherein morals had no diſtinguiſhing character, nor any degree of ſtability, ſucceeded the epidemic fury of the holy wars, by which nations were corrupted and degraded, by communicating to each other the contagion of vices with that of fanaticiſm. Morals were changed with the change of climate. All the paſſions were inflamed and heightened between the tombs of Jeſus and Mohammed. From Paleſtine was imported a principle of luxury and oſtentation, an inordinate taſte for the ſpices of the Eaſt, a romantic ſpirit which civilized the nobility, without rendering the people more happy, conſequently more virtuous: for if there be no happineſs without virtue, virtue, on the other hand, will never ſupport itſelf without a fund of happineſs.

About two centuries after Europe had been depopulated by Aſiatic expeditions, its tranſmigration in America happened. This revolution introduced an

univerſal confuſion, and blended the vices and productions of every climate with our own. Neither was any improvement made in the ſcience of morality, becauſe men were then deſtroyed through avarice, inſtead of being maſſacred on account of religion. Thoſe nations which had made the largeſt acquiſitions in the New World, ſeemed to acquire at the ſame time all the ſtupidity, ferociouſneſs, and ignorance of the Old. They became the channel through which the vices and diſeaſes of their country were communicated. They were poor and dirty in the midſt of their wealth, debauched though ſurrounded with temples and with prieſts; they were idle and ſuperſtitious with all the ſources of commerce, and the facility of acquiring information. But the love of riches likewiſe corrupted all other nations.

Whether it be war or commerce which introduces great riches into a ſtate, they ſoon become the object of public ambition. At firſt men of the greateſt power ſeize upon them: and as riches come into the hands of thoſe who have the management of public affairs, wealth is confounded with honour in the minds of the people; and the virtuous citizen, who aſpired to employments only for the ſake of glory, aſpires, without knowing it, to honour for the ſake of advantage. Neither lands nor treaſure, any more than conqueſts, are obtained with any other view but to enjoy them; and riches are enjoyed only for pleaſure and the oſtentation of luxury. Under theſe different ideas, they equally corrupt the citizen who poſſeſſes them, and the people who are ſeduced by their attraction. As ſoon as men labour only from a motive of gain, and not from a regard to their duty, the moſt advantageous ſituations are preferred to the moſt honourable. It is then we ſee the honour of a profeſſion diverted, obſcured, and loſt in the paths that lead to wealth.

To the advantage of that falſe conſideration at which riches arrive, are to be added the natural conveniences of opulence, a freſh ſource of corruption. The man who is in a public ſituation is deſirous of having peo-

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ple about him; the honours he receives in public are not ſufficient for him; he wants admirers, either of his talents, his luxury, or his profuſion. If riches be the means of corruption, by leading to honours, how much more will they be ſo, by diffuſing a taſte for pleaſure! Miſery offers its chaſtity to ſale, and idleneſs its liberty; the prince ſets the magiſtracy up to auction, and the magiſtrates ſet a price upon juſtice: the court ſells employments, and placemen ſell the people to the prince, who ſells them again to the neighbouring powers, either in treaties of war, or ſubſidy; of peace, or exchange of territory. But in this ſordid traffic, introduced by the love of wealth, the moſt evident alteration is that which it makes in the morals of women.

There is no vice which owes its origin to ſo many other vices, and which produces a greater number of them, than the incontinence of a ſex, whoſe true attendant, and moſt beautiful ornament, is baſhfulneſs and modeſty.

I do not underſtand by incontinence, the promiſcuous of women; the wiſe Cato adviſed it in his republic; nor do I mean a plurality of them, which is the reſult of the ardent and voluptuous countries of the Eaſt; neither do I mean the liberty, whether indefinite or limited, which cuſtom in different countries, grants to the ſex, of yielding to the deſires of ſeveral men. This, among ſome people, is one of the duties of hoſpitality, among others, a means of improving the human race, and in other places an offering made to the gods, an act of piety conſecrated by religion. I call incontinence, all intercourſe between the two ſexes forbidden by the laws of the ſtate.

Why ſhould this miſdemeanour, ſo pardonable in itſelf, this action of ſo little conſequence in its nature, ſo much confined in the gratification, have ſo pernicious an influence upon the morals of women? This is, I believe, a conſequence of the importance we have attached to it. What will be the reſtraint of a woman, diſhonoured in her own eyes, and in thoſe of

her fellow-citizens? What ſupport will other virtues find in her ſoul, when nothing can aggravate her ſhame? The contempt of public opinion, one of the greateſt efforts of wiſdom, is ſeldom ſeparated, in a feeble and timid mind, from the contempt of one's ſelf. This degree of heroiſm cannot exiſt with a conſciouſneſs of vice. The woman who no longer reſpects herſelf, ſoon becomes inſenſible to cenſure and to praiſe; and without ſtanding in awe of theſe two reſpectable phantoms, I know not what will be the rule of her conduct. There remains nothing but the rage of voluptuouſneſs, that can indemnify her for the ſacrifice ſhe has made. This ſhe feels, and this ſhe perſuades herſelf of; and thus, free from the conſtraint of the public conſideration, ſhe gives herſelf up to it without reſerve. BOOK XIX.

Women take their reſolution with much more difficulty than men, but when once they have taken it, they are much more determined. A woman never bluſhes when once ſhe has ceaſed to bluſh. What will ſhe not trample upon, when ſhe hath triumphed over virtue? What idea can ſhe have of that dignity, that decency, and that delicacy of ſentiment, which, in the days of her innocence, directed and dictated her converſation, conſtituted her behaviour, and directed her dreſs? Theſe will be conſidered only as childiſhneſs, as puſillanimity, or as the little intrigue of a pretended innocent perſon, who has parents to ſatisfy, and a huſband to deceive; but a change of times brings on a change of manners.

To whatever degree of perverſity ſhe may have attained, it will not lead her to great enormities. Her weakneſs deprives her of the boldneſs to commit atrocious acts; but her habitual hypocriſy, if ſhe hath not entirely thrown off the maſk, will caſt a tint of falſity upon her whole character. Thoſe things which a man dares to attempt by force, ſhe will attempt and obtain by artifice. A corrupt woman propagates corruption. She propagates it by bad example, by inſidious counſels, and ſometimes by ridicule. She hath

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begun by coquetry, which was addreſſed to all men; ſhe hath continued by gallantry, ſo volatile in its propenſities, that it is more eaſy to find a woman who hath never had any paſſions, than to find one who hath only been once impaſſioned; and at laſt ſhe reckons as many lovers as ſhe hath acquaintances, whom ſhe recals, expels, and recals again, according to the want ſhe hath of them, and to the nature of intrigues of all kinds into which ſhe hath plunged herſelf. This is what ſhe means by having known how to enjoy her beſt years, and to avail herſelf of her charms. It was one of theſe women, who had entered into the depths of the art, and who declared upon her death-bed, that ſhe regretted only the pains ſhe had taken to deceive the men; and that the moſt honeſt among them were the greateſt dupes.

Under the influence of ſuch manners, conjugal love is diſdained, and that contempt weakens the ſentiment of maternal tenderneſs, if it doth not even extinguiſh it. The moſt ſacred and the moſt pleaſing duties become troubleſome; and when they have been neglected or broken, nature never renews them. The woman who ſuffers any man but her huſband to approach her, hath no more regard for her family, and can be no more reſpected by them. The ties of blood are ſlackened; births become uncertain; and the ſon knows no more his father, nor the father his ſon.

I will therefore maintain it, that connections of gallantry complete the depravity of manners, and indicate it more ſtrongly than public proſtitution. Religion is extinct, when the prieſt leads a ſcandalous life; in the ſame manner virtue hath no aſylum, when the ſanctuary of marriage is profaned. Baſhfulneſs is under the protection of the timid ſex. Who is it that ſhall bluſh, when a woman doth not? It is not proſtitution which multiplies acts of adultery; it is gallantry which extends proſtitution. The ancient moraliſts, who pitied the unfortunate victims of libertiniſm, condemned without mercy the infidelity of married women; and not without reaſon. If we were

to throw all the ſhame of vice upon the claſs of common women, other women would not fail ſoon to take honour to themſelves from a limited intercourſe, although it would be ſo much more criminal, as it was more voluntary and more illicit. The honeſt and virtuous women will no more be diſtinguiſhed from the women of ſtrong paſſions; a frivolous diſtinction will be eſtabliſhed between the woman of gallantry and the courtezan; between gratuitous vice, and vice reduced by miſery to the neceſſity of requiring a ſtipend; and theſe ſubtleties will betray a ſyſtem of depravation. O fortunate and rude times of our forefathers, when there were none but virtuous or bad women; when all who were not virtuous were corrupted; and where an eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of vice was not excuſed by perſevering in it.

But finally, what is the ſource of thoſe delicate paſſions, formed by the mind, by ſentiment, and by ſympathy of character? the manner in which theſe paſſions always terminate, ſhows plainly, that thoſe fine expreſſions are only employed to ſhorten the defence and juſtify the defeat. Equally at the ſervice of reſerved and diſſolute women, they are become almoſt ridiculous.

What is the reſult of this national gallantry? A premature libertiniſm, which ruins the health of young men before they are arrived to maturity, and deſtroys the beauty of thewomen in the prime of their life; a race of men without information, without ſtrength, and without courage; incapable of ſerving their country; magiſtrates deſtitute of dignity and of principles; a preference of wit to good ſenſe; of pleaſures to duty; of politeneſs to the feelings of humanity; of the art of pleaſing, to talents, to virtue; men abſorbed in ſelf-conſideration, ſubſtituted to men who are ſerviceable; offers without reality; innumerable acquaintances, and no friends; miſtreſſes, and no wives; lovers, and no huſbands; ſeparations and divorces; children without education; fortunes in diſorder; jealous

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mothers, and hyſterical women; nervous diſorders; peeviſh old age, and premature death.

It is with difficulty that women of gallantry eſcape the dangers of the critical period of life. The vexation at the neglect which threatens them, completes the depravation of the blood and of the humours, at a time when the calm which ariſes from conſciouſneſs of an honeſt life might be ſalutary. It is dreadful to ſeek in vain, in one's ſelf, the conſolations of virtue, when the calamities of nature ſurround us.

Let us therefore, talk no more of morality among modern nations; and if we wiſh to diſcover the cauſe of this degradation, let us ſearch for it in its true principle.

Gold doth not become the idol of a people, and virtue does not fall into contempt, unleſs the bad conſtitution of the government leads on to ſuch a corruption. Unfortunately it will always have this effect, if the government be ſo conſtituted, that the temporary intereſt of a ſingle perſon, or of a ſmall number, can with impunity prevail over the common and invariable intereſt of the whole. It will always produce this corruption, if thoſe in whoſe hands authority is lodged can make an arbitrary uſe of it; can place themſelves above the reach of juſtice: can make their power adminiſter to plundering, and their plunder to the continuance of abuſes occaſioned by their power. Good laws are maintained by good morals, but good morals are eſtabliſhed by good laws. Men are what government makes them. To modify them, it is always armed with an irreſiſtible force, that of public opinion; and the government will always make uſe of corruption, when by its nature it is itſelf corrupt. In a word, the nations of Europe will have good morals when they have good governments. Let us conclude. But let us previouſly give a rapid ſketch of the good and of the evil produced by the diſcovery of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

Reflections upon the good and

This great event hath improved the conſtruction of ſhips, navigation, geography, aſtronomy, medicine, na-

tural hiſtory, and ſome other branches of knowledge; and theſe advantages have not been attended with any known inconvenience.

the evil which the diſcovery of the New World hath done to Europe.

It hath procured to ſome empires vaſt domains, which have given ſplendour, power, and wealth, to the ſtates which have founded them. But what expences have not been laviſhed to clear, to govern, or to defend theſe diſtant poſſeſſions? When theſe colonies ſhall have acquired that degree of culture, knowledge, and population, which is ſuitable for them, will they not detach themſelves from a country which hath founded its ſplendour upon their proſperity? We know not at what period this revolution will happen, but it muſt certainly take place.

Europe is indebted to the New World for a few conveniencies and a few luxuries. But before theſe enjoyments were obtained, were we leſs healthy, leſs robuſt, leſs intelligent, or leſs happy? Are theſe frivolous advantages, ſo cruelly obtained, ſo unequally diſtributed, and ſo obſtinately diſputed, worth one drop of that blood which hath been ſpilt, and which will ſtill be ſpilt for them? Are they to be compared to the life of a ſingle man? And yet, how many lives have hitherto been deſtroyed, how many are at preſent devoted, and how many will not hereafter be ſacrificed, to ſupply chimerical wants, which we ſhall never be perſuaded to get rid of, either by authority or reaſon.

The voyages undertaken upon all the ſeas have weakened the principle of national pride; they have inſpired civil and religious toleration; they have revived the ties of original fraternity; have inſpired the true principles of an univerſal ſyſtem of morality, founded upon the identity of wants, of calamities, of pleaſures, and of the analogies common to mankind under every latitude; they have induced the practice of benevolence towards every individual who appeals to it, whatever his manners, his country, his laws, and his religion may be. But at the ſame time, the minds of men have been turned to lucrative ſpeculation. The

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ſentiment of glory hath been weakened; riches have been preferred to fame; and every thing which tended to the elevation of mankind hath viſibly inclined to decay.

The New World hath multiplied ſpecie amongſt us. An earneſt deſire of obtaining it hath occaſioned much exertion upon the face of the globe; but exertion is not happineſs. Whoſe deſtiny hath been meliorated by gold and ſilver? Do not the nations who dig them from the bowels of the earth languiſh in ignorance, ſuperſtition, and pride, and all thoſe vices which it is moſt difficult to eradicate, when they have taken deep root? Have they not loſt their agriculture and their manufactures? Their exiſtence, is it not precarious? If an induſtrious people, proprietors of a fertile ſoil, ſhould one day repreſent to the other people that they have too long carried on a loſing trade with them, and that they will no longer give the thing for the repreſentation, would not this ſumptuary law be a ſentence of death againſt that region, which hath none but riches of convention, unleſs the latter, driven by deſpair, ſhould ſhut up its mines, in order to open furrows in the ground?

The other powers of Europe may perhaps have acquired no greater advantage from the treaſures of America. If the repartition of them hath been equal or proportionate between them, neither of them have decreaſed in opulence or increaſed in ſtrength. The analogies which exiſted in ancient times ſtill exiſt. Let us ſuppoſe that ſome nations ſhould have acquired a greater quantity of metals than the rival nations, they will either bury them, or throw them into circulation. In the firſt inſtance, this is nothing more than the barren property of a ſuperfluous maſs of gold. In the ſecond, they will acquire only a temporary ſuperiority, becauſe in a ſhort ſpace of time all vendible commodities will bear a price proportionate to the abundance of the ſigns which repreſent them.

Such are then the evils attached even to the advantages which we owe to the diſcovery of the Eaſt and

Weſt Indies. But how many calamities, which cannot be compenſated, have not attended the conqueſt of theſe regions?

Have the devaſtators of them loſt nothing by depopulating them for a long ſeries of ages? If all the blood that hath been ſpilt in thoſe countries had been collected into one common reſervoir, if the dead bodies had been heaped up in the ſame plain, would not the blood and the carcaſes of the Europeans have occupied a great ſpace in it? Hath it been poſſible ſpeedily to fill up the void which theſe emigrants had left in their native land, infected with a ſhameful and cruel poiſon from the New World, which attacks even the ſources of reproduction?

Since the bold attempts of Columbus and of Gama, a ſpirit of fanaticiſm, till then unknown, hath been eſtabliſhed in our countries, which is that of making diſcoveries. We have traverſed, and ſtill continue to traverſe, all the climates from one pole to another, in order to diſcover ſome continents to invade, ſome iſlands to ravage, and ſome people to ſpoil, to ſubdue, and to maſſacre. Would not the perſon who ſhould put an end to this frenzy deſerve to be reckoned among the benefactors of mankind?

The ſedentary life is the only favourable one to population. The man who travels leaves no poſterity behind him. The land forces have created a multitude of perſons devoted to celibacy. The naval forces have almoſt doubled them, with this difference, that the latter are deſtroyed by illneſſes on board of ſhip, by ſhipwrecks, by fatigue, by bad food, and by the change of climate. A ſoldier may return to ſome of the profeſſions uſeful to ſociety. A ſailor is a ſailor for ever. When he is diſcharged from the ſervice, he is of no further uſe to his country, which is under the neceſſity of providing an hoſpital for him.

Long voyages have introduced a new ſpecies of anomalous ſavages: I mean thoſe men who traverſe ſo many countries, and who in the end belong to none; who take wives wherever they find them, and that

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only from motives of animal neceſſity; thoſe amphibious creatures, who live upon the ſurface of the waters; who come on ſhore only for a moment; to whom every habitable latitude is equal; who have, in reality, neither fathers, mothers, children, brothers, relations, friends, nor fellow-citizens; in whom the moſt pleaſing and the moſt ſacred ties are extinct; who quit their country without regret; who never return to it without being impatient of going out again; and to whom the habit of living upon a dreadful element gives a character of ferociouſneſs. Their probity is not proof againſt the croſſing of the line; and they acquire riches in exchange for their virtue and their health.

This inſatiable thirſt of gold hath given birth to the moſt infamous and the moſt atrocious of all traffics, that of ſlaves. Crimes againſt nature are ſpoken of, and yet this is not inſtanced as the moſt execrable of them. Moſt of the European nations have been ſtained with it, and a baſe motive of intereſt hath extinguiſhed in their hearts all the ſentiments due to our fellow-creatures. But, without theſe aſſiſtances, theſe countries, the acquiſition of which hath coſt ſo dear, would ſtill be uncultivated. Let them then remain fallow, if, in order to cultivate them, it be neceſſary that man ſhould be reduced to the condition of the brute, in the perſon of the buyer, of the ſeller, and of him who is ſold.

Shall we not take into our account the complication which the ſettlements in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies have introduced in the machine of government? Before that period, the perſons proper to hold the reins of government were infinitely ſcarce. An adminiſtration more embarraſſed, hath required a more extenſive genius, and greater depth of knowledge. The cares of ſovereignty, divided between the citizens placed at the foot of the throne, and the ſubjects ſettled under the equator, or near the pole, have been inſufficient for both the one and the other. Every thing hath fallen into confuſion. The ſeveral ſtates have languiſhed under the yoke of oppreſſion; and endleſs wars, or ſuch

as were inceſſantly renewed, have haraſſed the globe, and ſtained it with blood. BOOK XIX.

Let us ſtop here, and conſider ourſelves as exiſting at the time when America and India were unknown. Let me ſuppoſe that I addreſs myſelf to the moſt cruel of the Europeans in the following terms: There exiſt regions which will furniſh thee with rich metals, agreeable clothing, and delicious food; but read this hiſtory, and behold at what price the diſcovery is promiſed to thee. Doſt thou wiſh or not that it ſhould be made? Is it to be imagined that there exiſts a being infernal enough to anſwer this queſtion in the affirmative? Let it be remembered, that there will not be a ſingle inſtant in futurity when my queſtion will not have the ſame force.

Nations, I have diſcourſed to you on your deareſt intereſts. I have placed before your eyes the beneſits of nature, and the fruits of induſtry. As ye are too frequently the occaſion of your mutual unhappineſs, you muſt have felt how the jealouſy of avarice, how pride and ambition, remove far from your common weal the happineſs that preſents itſelf to you by peace and commerce. I have recalled that happineſs which has been removed from you. The ſentiments of my heart have been warmly expreſſed in favour of all mankind, without diſtinction of ſect or country. Men are all equal in my ſight, by the reciprocal relation of the ſame wants and the ſame calamities, as they are all equal in the eyes of the Supreme Being through the connection between their weakneſs and his power. I have not been ignorant that, ſubject, as ye were, to maſters, your deſtiny muſt principally depend upon them; and that while I was ſpeaking to you of your calamities, I was cenſuring them for their errors or their crimes. This reflection hath not depreſſed my courage. I have never conceived, that the ſacred reſpect due to humanity could poſſibly be irreconcileable with that which is due to thoſe who ſhould be its natural protectors. I have been tranſported in idea into the councils of the ruling powers. I have ſpoken

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without diſguiſe and without fear, and have no reaſon to accuſe myſelf of having betrayed the great cauſe I have ventured to plead. I have informed princes of their duties, and of the rights of the people. I have traced to them the fatal effects of that inhuman power which is guilty of oppreſſion, and of that whoſe indolence and weakneſs ſuffers it. I have ſketched all around them portraits of your misfortunes, and they cannot but have been ſenſibly affected by them. I have warned them, that if they turned their eyes away, thoſe true but dreadful pictures would be engraven on the marble of their tombs, and accuſe their aſhes, while poſterity trampled on them.

But talents are not always equal to our zeal. Undoubtedly I have ſtood in need of a greater ſhare of that penetration which diſcovers expedients, and of that eloquence which enforces truth. Sometimes, perhaps, the ſentiments of my heart have contributed to raiſe my genius; but moſt frequently I have perceived myſelf overwhelmed with my ſubject, and conſcious of my own inability.

May writers, on whom nature has beſtowed greater abilities, complete by their maſterpieces what my eſſays have begun! Under the auſpices of philoſophy, may there be one day extended, from one extremity of the world to the other, that chain of union and benevolence which ought to connect all civilized people! May they never more carry among ſavage nations the example of vice and oppreſſion! I do not flatter myſelf that, at the period of that happy revolution, my name will be ſtill in remembrance. This feeble work, which will have only the merit of having brought forth others better than itſelf, will doubtleſs be forgotten. But I ſhall, at leaſt, be able to ſay, that I have contributed as much as was in my power to the happineſs of my fellow-creatures, and pointed out the way, though perhaps at a diſtance, to improve their deſtiny. This agreeable thought will ſtand me in the ſtead of glory. It will be the delight of my old age, and the conſolation of my lateſt moments.

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